Castorland Journal

An Account of the Exploration and Settlement of Northern New York State by French Émigrés in the Years 1793 to 1797

Simon Desjardins & Pierre Pharoux

Edited and translated by John A. Gallucci

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An Account of the Exploration and Settlement of Northern New York State by French Émigrés in the Years 1793 to 1797

SIMON DESJARDINS &
PIERRE PHAROUX

Edited and translated by
JOHN A. GALLUCCI

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Epigraph—Words attributed by Crèvecoeur to the surveyor-general of New York State: *Voyage*, vol. 3, 161–62 (author's translation); in her translation, Bostelmann abridges this passage slightly (Crèvecoeur, *Journey*, 479).

Castorland Journal, 1793–1797, translated with permission of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

For my parents

You would be quite surprised if I were to show you the long series of observations and the particular details of all the steps required to define the outer boundaries of this great tract, as well as the boundaries of its subdivisions: they make up an in-folio volume.

—J. Hector St. Jean de Crèvecoeur,
Journey in Upper Pennsylvania and in the State of New York

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Preface

The Castorland Journal was originally intended as a business report. In 1793, a French concern, the Compagnie de New York, sent its two agents, Pierre Pharoux and Simon Desjardins, to the United States to develop its newly acquired landholdings in today's Lewis and Jefferson counties in upstate New York. As required by the Company's by-laws, Pharoux and Desjardins documented their explorations in what were then largely unknown regions along New York State's northwestern frontier. The New York Company named its tract *Castorland*, from the French word for beaver, *castor*.

The story of Castorland is heroic and heartbreaking. The New York Company's pioneering venture was the most promising attempt by the French to speculate in American lands after the American War of Independence, yet awaiting the Company's two envoys were tragic disappointments. Boundary disputes engendered litigation and delays. Pharoux, whose leadership inspired the Castorland settlement, did not live long, drowned in a flooded Black River in his haste to travel to Kingston, Canada. At the Journal's close, we learn that the Paris-based company, impatient with the slow progress of settlement, has sent a new commissioner to manage Castorland. Desjardins is relieved of his duties, and with that, the Castorland Journal comes to an end. Castorland continued under different management until the expiration of its charter in 1814 and the sale and dispersal of the Castorland tract. Yet despite this outcome, the unique circumstances of the Castorland venture, the personalities involved, the character and literary talent of the Journal's authors, transform these pages into a unique document of American history.

The Journal's Early History

The Castorland Journal was discovered in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society by the nineteenth-century historian Franklin Benjamin Hough (1822–85). The Journal had survived by pure chance. Found in a bookstall in Paris in the early nineteenth century, it had been brought to the United States and donated to the Massachusetts Historical Society, where it still resides.[1]

Already, before this find, Hough had explored the history of the New York Company, labeling as unrealistic and romantic its plans for settlement. But Hough's discovery of the original journal led him to plan a more thorough treatment of Castorland. For his personal use, he had a handwritten copy made of the original manuscript; working from this copy, he produced a translation that he intended to publish.[2] In a new, expanded edition of his *History of Lewis County*, published in 1883, he described the Journal's discovery and mused on the historical work that still awaited him.[3] Two years later, his death left this goal unfinished, and it was only in the following century that the first accurate history of the Castorland venture was finally published, Edith Pilcher's *Castorland*, some two hundred years after Pharoux and Desjardins first arrived in America.[4]

Authors

The volume preserved in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society includes several separate documents. Besides the lengthy manuscript of the Journal itself, there is also the manuscript of the Constitution of the New York Company and the printed text of the New York Company's Prospectus; one also finds a handwritten table of contents of sorts, listing subjects and persons named in the Journal. Together these documents make up a total of 730 pages. The Journal begins on 1 July 1793 and ends on 10 April 1797. Entries are made daily, with some exceptions. The Constitution and the Journal were written by the same person in a clear, even hand. The Journal is unsigned, and the author of any one passage can be known only from inference.

The Journal's principal author was Simon Desjardins. Other portions were written by his fellow commissioner, Pierre Pharoux, and, to a lesser degree, by Geoffrey Desjardins, Simon's younger brother. On occasion, it seems that a fourth hand, most likely Baptiste, the most trusted of the Castorland workers, made some entries. At times, these individuals separated to perform different tasks, with Pharoux on surveying campaigns, Simon Desjardins traveling to New York City, and Geoffrey Desjardins reporting from the base camp or from new locations where future settlements were planned. On such occasions, the Journal provides simultaneous entries and the authorship of these entries in the Journal is clear. The Journal itself must have been a compilation of their separate writings. The identity of the person who composed the manuscript of the Journal is unknown. We learn from the Journal, on 1 October 1793, that Geoffrey Desjardins, brother to Simon, was given the task of secretary. The manuscript is perhaps his work.[5]

Of the two people we most want to know—Pierre Pharoux and Simon Desjardins—we possess today little information outside of what the Journal itself provides. Pharoux's full name was Etienne-Pierre Pharoux. The Constitution lists him among its stockholders. In this list, as elsewhere in the Journal, he is identified as an architect. From the Journal one also infers that he is a trained

engineer. Simon Desjardins' full name was Anne (Aimée) Edme Simon Congniasse Des Jardins, from Troyes, in the Aube, in the Champagne region of France. After leaving Castorland, he became associated with the du Pont mills in Delaware. On offering his services to the du Ponts, Desjardins wrote of his past experience, which included working at the Administration of Gunpowder and Saltpeter in France.[6] Both Pharoux and Desjardins are mentioned by some of their contemporaries.[7]

The research of Roger G. Kennedy, former director of the Museum of American History at the Smithsonian Institute, allows us to identify Pharoux and Desjardins as highly trained architects. Kennedy's work shows that Pharoux had begun a brief but promising and influential career in the United States.[8]

Baptiste's full name was Jean-Baptiste Bossuot. After Desjardins' departure, he remained in Castorland, settling at the Long Falls, now Carthage, New York, where he operated a ferry and maintained an inn. He was born in Troyes, France, and died in 1847, at the age of ninety-three.[9]

The Journal reveals the different personalities of Simon Desjardins and Pierre Pharoux. The former writes a more discursive style, creating careful descriptions of natural features and giving to the Journal a more personal tone; the latter is more active, eager to explore, displaying more leadership.

Translation

This edition represents the first translation made directly from the original manuscript of the Castorland Journal. Franklin B. Hough was an influential writer, perhaps best known today as a forerunner of American forest preservation.[10] His historical works created almost ex nihilo the history of northern and northwestern New York and remain to this day important sources for scholars of diverse fields. Yet it is fair to say that, as is the case for Hough's translation of Pierre Pouchot's memoirs, a new translation is warranted.[11] For reasons of style alone, a new translation would be justified, but there is also an overall need for greater precision and accuracy.[12]

For reasons of space, some hundred pages of technical information have been omitted, in particular the survey of the Black River's course that Pierre Pharoux directed in the summer of 1794. Included in this edition are three related documents in new translation, the *Prospectus* for the New York Company, published in Paris in the autumn of 1792; the New York Company's *Constitution*, written in early summer 1793, which sets forth the Company's organization and by-laws; and a letter written by Pharoux and Desjardins on discovering Castorland's true boundaries.

This translation seeks both to convey in English the clarity of the Journal's style while preserving as much as possible the Journal's cultural and historical depth.[13] My goal has been to reproduce as faithfully as possible the wording and look of the original manuscript. A remarkable feature of the original text is the authors' accumulative use of English words. As the Journal's authors

move between two linguistic and cultural worlds, the French text reveals an important process of acculturation. For example, the following soon appear with regular frequency: *waggon*, *waggoner*, *log*, *loghouse*, *creek*, *causeway*. To these are eventually added *surveyor*, *fieldbook*, *fence*, *acre*, *Yankee*, *affidavit*. On occasion, both the French and the English equivalent are used indifferently in the same paragraph, for example, *sledge* and *traineau*; *surveyor* and *arpenteur*; *waggon* and *voiture*. One even finds new French words created from certain American words, for example, instead of *arpenter*, meaning "to survey," one finds *surveyer*; instead of *faire une clôture*, meaning "to fence in," we find the invented *fencer*.

In English translation, these words naturally disappear, except for those whose spelling has changed since the eighteenth century, for example, *mannor* and the very frequent *waggon* and *waggoner*. Rather than modernize this eighteenth-century spelling, I have generalized it in translating the French term, extending the authors' own practice. I have also retained the authors' spelling of various proper names and place-names. This spelling, although different from modern usage, remains clear enough for today's reader and allows one to glimpse to some degree the Journal's original style, that is, a text written with information daily learned and quickly noted.

I have generally retained the Journal's spelling of place names, writing for example, "Onnondago" for Onondaga. The Journal occasionally presents multiple spellings of the same person's name, such as the worker Meharis, whose name is also spelled "Meharris" and "Meharys." In such cases, I have adopted the form used most frequently. For other proper names, however, I have used the form generally accepted today, writing "Steuben" for the Journal's invariable "Stuben," for example.

Other characteristics of the original merit attention. The Journal often introduces English words into its narrative and provides for its readers in France a definition in parentheses: these parenthetical French definitions I have kept in the text. In this edition I have included a line crossed out in the original text but just legible enough to be recovered—it makes a reference to Jean Lambert Tallien, Robespierre's deputy in Bordeaux. Included too are notes and marginal comments found in the original manuscript, which I have marked with an asterisk (*). What appears to be the original organization of the Journal's entries into paragraphs or sections has been retained for the most part: this organization appears to be based on the entering of Journal entries over the course of a day.

Unless otherwise indicated, italics in the translations indicate original emphasis found in the manuscript. The manuscript's pagination presents the following characteristic. Beginning with page *179*, the manuscript gives for each of its pages two different page numbers: in this case, *179/188*. This double numbering continues to the end of the manuscript, where the final page has as its page numbers *706/715*. I have provided both numbers when referring to a page of the original manuscript.

For the notes, information has been taken largely from standard reference or scholarly works, or from nineteenth-century sources which, taken together, form an unsystematic but useful prosopography of central New York in the late eighteenth century. The notes are meant to be basic and factual, and to provide the reader with information needed to understand the historical and cultural contexts.

Acknowledgments

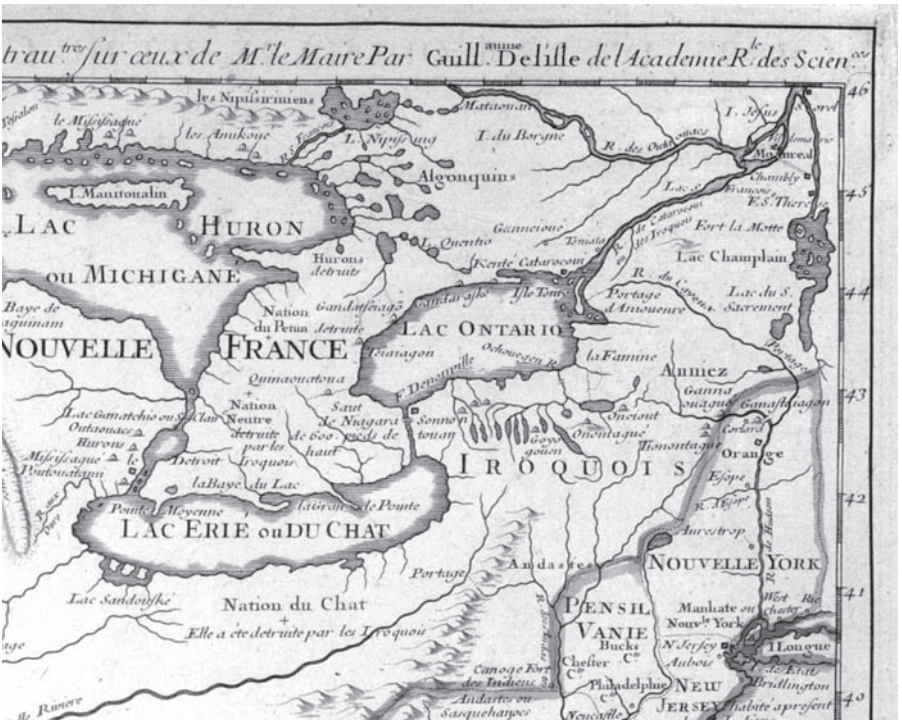
In researching and writing this edition, I have benefited from the help and generosity of many colleagues and friends over the years. The Office of the Dean of the Faculty of Colgate University and the Colgate University Research Council provided generous grants to support this project. I thank Jill Tiefenthaler, past director of Colgate University's Upstate Institute, and Ellen Kraly, the Upstate Institute's current director, for their encouragement and support of this project. I am grateful to the personnel of various research collections who provided generous help in the research required for this project: the Massachusetts Historical Society; the New York State Library; the New York Public Library, especially Thomas Lannon, Reference Archivist; the New-York Historical Society; the Newberry Library and Carla Zecher, Director of the Center for Renaissance Studies; the American Antiquarian Society; the Carl A. Kroch Library, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, of Cornell University; the Syracuse University Library Department of Special Collections; the Oneida County Historical Society; Paul Smith's Library; the Remsen-Steuben Historical Society; Hamilton College Library and Archives; Carl Peterson, Director of Special Collections, Case-Geyer Library, Colgate University; and the Case-Geyer Library faculty and staff, who provided important help in the making of this book. I am grateful for the online texts made available through the *Dictionnaires d'autrefois* of the ARTFL Project (Project for Research on the Treasury of the French Language), University of Chicago. I thank Daniel Huffman of the University of Wisconsin Cartography Laboratory, who prepared new maps for this edition. Many colleagues at Colgate University helped me with their suggestions. I thank in particular Janet Godwin, who read early versions of the introduction, and Joscelyn Godwin, for his suggestions regarding the commentary.

I thank the reviewers who supported the original project and provided valuable advice on the definition of this work. François Furstenberg read multiple versions of the introduction in its later stages, and I am grateful for his suggestions and advice. I also thank Alan Taylor for supporting the proposal for a new edition of the Castorland Journal. I owe much to the anonymous reviewer of the translation, whose insistence on idiomatic translation went far in improving the style and accuracy of the final product. I am grateful to John Raymond for his close reading of the manuscript and for his useful suggestions. I thank Victoria Baker for her careful work preparing the index. I am responsible for any errors that remain.

My editors at Cornell University Press invariably gave me excellent advice. I am grateful to Alison Kalett, who first welcomed this book, and to Michael J. McGandy, who has guided this work to its conclusion. I also thank Emily Zoss, Susan Barnett, and Susan Specter for their careful help in preparing the manuscript.

Working on this project over many years has been a constant pleasure, and this has been due in large part to the help and encouragement of the Adirondack historian Edith Pilcher, whose work on Castorland led to my discovery of this episode in New York State history and who has shared generously with me her advice and research.

Finally, I thank my parents for their constant support of my education. I dedicate this book to them.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LAC HURON
ou MICHIGANE
Hurons detruits
Nation du Petun detruite
LAC ONTARIO
NOUVELLE FRANCE
Quinaouatoua
Nation Neutre detruite par les Iroquois
Saut de Niagara de 600 pieds de haut
Sonnontouan
IROQUOIS
Detroit
la Baye du Lac
Pointe Moyenne
LAC ERIE ou DU CHAT
Nation du Chat
Elle a ete detruite par les Iroquois
Lac Sandoussie
Portage
Andastes
PENSILVANIE
Philadelphie
NEU JERSEY
NOUVELLE YORK
Manhate ou Nouv.le York
N. Jersey
Longue
Brillington
Canoge Fort des Indiens
Andarto ou Sasquehanoe
Fort la Motte
Lac Champlain
Portage d'Anouenre
Lac du S. Sacrement
la Famine
Annicz
Orange
Chambly
Montreal
Kente
Cataroqui
Isle Tonty
Gannious
Onondaga
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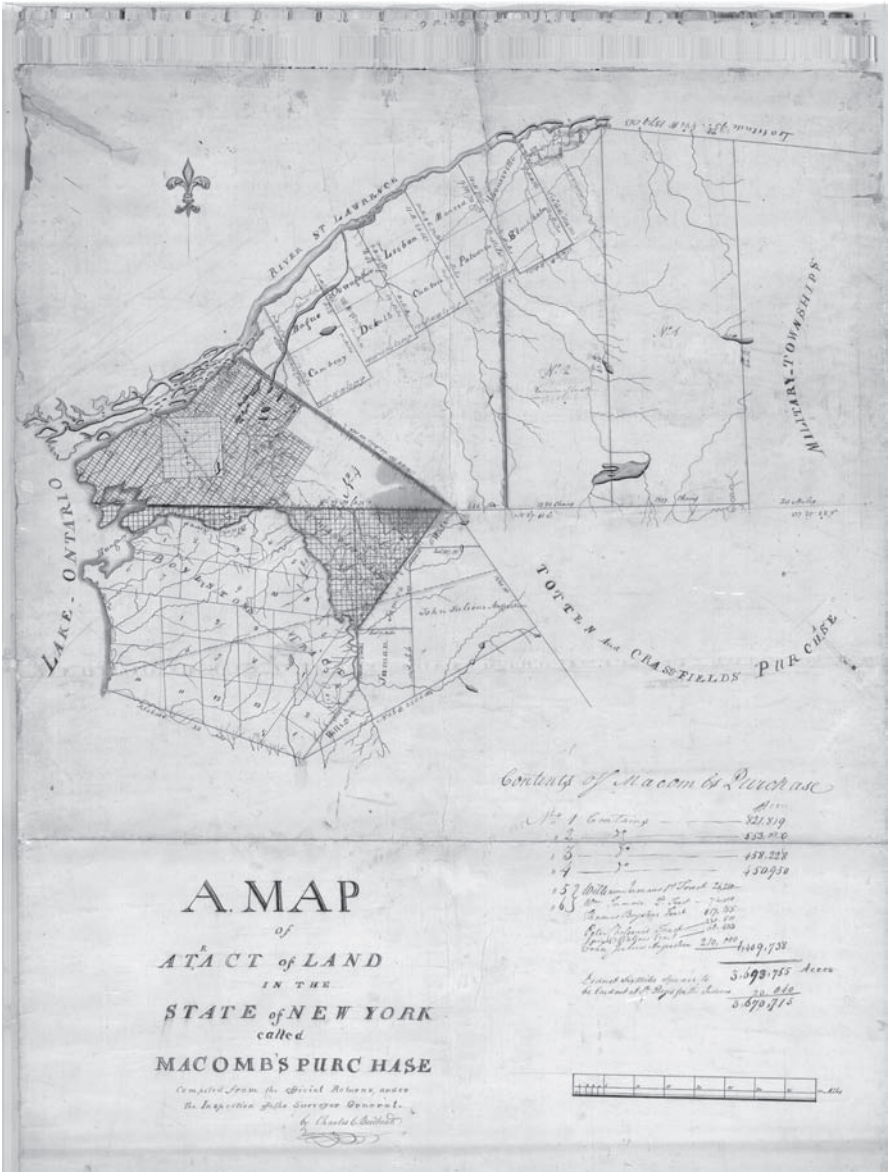


2. Charles Brodhead's map of Macomb Purchase. An early map showing the final surveys of the Great Tracts of the Macomb Purchase. Castorland, or the Chassanis Purchase, is part of Great Tract no. 5. Courtesy of the New York State Archives.

Introduction

The story of Castorland is a story both regional and international. The Journal's main subject is the progress of the New York Company's American commissioners, Pierre Pharoux and Simon Desjardins, as they work, write, and travel in New York City and Philadelphia, along the Hudson and Mohawk rivers, and on the shores of the Black River in northwestern New York State. At the same time, in reading their Journal, we enter a story of international scope.

Between the arrest and imprisonment of Louis XVI in August of 1792 and the beginning of Maximilien Robespierre's reign by terror in the summer of 1793, a land company was created in Paris, La Compagnie de New York—the New York Company—whose purpose was to invest in lands in northern and northwestern New York. These lands, forming a vast tract of almost four million acres, had been purchased in 1791 from the State of New York by a single individual, the speculator Alexander Macomb, and the buyer's name had given this region a new identity as Macomb's Purchase.[1]

Although glimpsed by the explorers and writers of New Amsterdam, New France, and New York, this region, remarkably, had remained unknown to Europeans until the late eighteenth century. Native Americans lived and hunted along the numerous streams and rivers that flowed from the Adirondack Mountains north into the St. Lawrence River and westward into Lake Ontario, yet the entire region of northwestern New York remained for years a cartographical blank for the Dutch, French, and English.[2] With Macomb's Purchase, this region became the object of more precise geographical attention. His nearly four million acres were subdivided by New York's surveyor-general into six gigantic areas called "Great Tracts," each one containing over six hundred thousand acres and numbered consecutively from east to west. At the time, measurements for the Great Tracts were based on estimates rather than on actual surveys conducted on the ground.[3]

Macomb's lands subsequently became the object of correspondence and further speculation in Paris and London as their four million acres were divided and resold to European investors through a network of Macomb's business relations and friendships. Chief among these was the businessman and long-time associate and friend of Macomb, William Constable, who was living

in London and acting as Macomb's legal representative.[4] Also involved in the selling of Macomb's lands was the brilliant Gouverneur Morris, who was living in France at the time of Macomb's purchase and soon to become the American minister to the Court of Louis XVI.[5] These investors intended to sell their American lands to French people who wished to leave the growing political instability of France and establish themselves in the young and prospering American Republic.[6]

In Paris, two prominent French Americans were also involved in the New York Company's venture. James Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, the celebrated author of *Letters from an American Farmer* and former French consul in New York City, was an investor in the New York Company. He held relatively few shares in the Company but is third in the list of stockholders and likely played an important role in planning the Castorland venture.[7]

William Constable's Paris associate was James Donatien Le Ray de Chaumont. James's father, Jacques-Donatien Le Ray de Chaumont, had played a significant role in the history of American independence, lending large sums of money to the American insurgents and serving as Benjamin Franklin's host in France.[8] James the son had married an American, Grace Coxe, who was a distant cousin of Tench Coxe, Alexander Hamilton's assistant in developing new financial policies for the young American Republic. James's brother-in-law Pierre Chassanis became the legal owner of Castorland, although he never set foot on his land. In New York City, James Constable represented his brother William.[9] Also involved in selling Macomb's land was Samuel Ward, a former officer of the Revolutionary Army.[10] The correspondence of these individuals reveals a wide range of individual personalities, from the hard-bargaining Samuel Ward and James Constable to the more congenial Alexander Macomb. Their letters also reveal practical business sense and interests and a keen awareness of national and international political events and the effect of these events on the price of American land.[11]

The history of Castorland begins with Macomb's confidence in the certain gain to be made from the sale of these lands in northern New York. In spite of his bankruptcy in the spring of 1792, he writes, for example, in a letter to William Constable on 18 August 1792: "A settlement could be immediately made on the Black river of a considerable number of families, after which Inhabitants would throng there, and the land rise in value."[12] As he explained in another letter written to Constable just a week later, 25 August 1792, his strategy was to "[deal] in wild lands—their value is yet in its infancy & it is not improbable that the second sale may be more profitable than the first."[13] And as we learn from a letter written a few months later, on 10 October 1792, Macomb was also eager to forestall competitors from the Holland Land Company who were beginning to explore "the back country in order to obtain a general knowledge of the good tracts."[14]

The phrase "general knowledge" takes us to the heart of the Castorland venture. In his *Observations*, the botanist John Bartram had written that "knowl-

edge must precede a settlement."[15] What knowledge did the Paris-based New York Company have of Macomb's New World lands? The history of Castorland is first of all the history of the acquisition of this knowledge, a path that extends from Macomb's optimism to the discovery by Pierre Pharoux and Simon Desjardins of the geographical realities of Castorland in the years following their arrival in the United States. An important step along this path was the publication of the New York Company's Prospectus, or, to give it its full title, *A Topographical Description of Six Hundred Thousand Acres of Land in North America*.

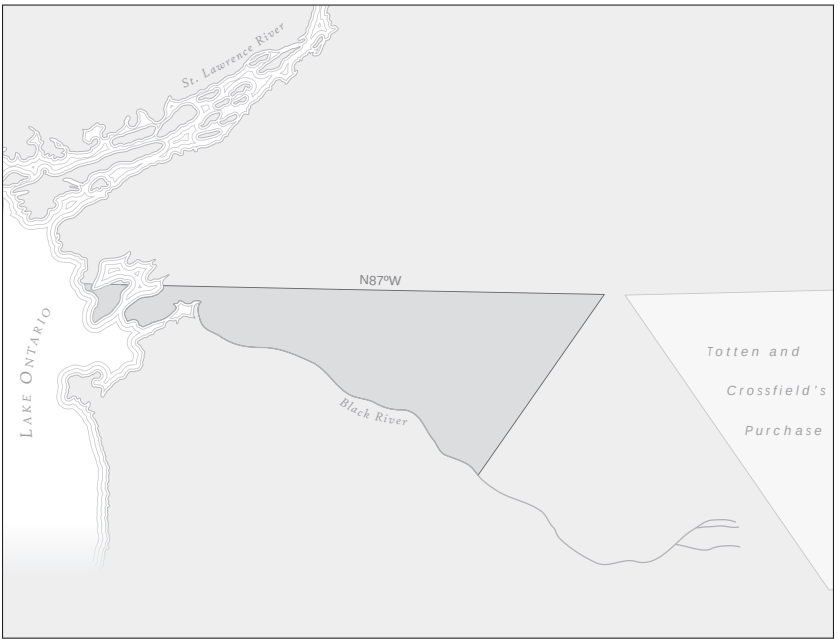
The Prospectus

Published in the fall of 1792, written to tempt and persuade, the New York Company's *Prospectus* reveals an optimistic vision of settlement and prosperity that translates Macomb's confidence into the language of advertising. The author of the Prospectus is unknown. From its style, the historian Edith Pilcher has plausibly suggested that Crèvecoeur had a hand in its writing and could be its author.[16] Yet however rhetorically compelling the Prospectus may have appeared to its author or authors, this document provides in fact no exact, first-hand information on the actual lands that investors would purchase.

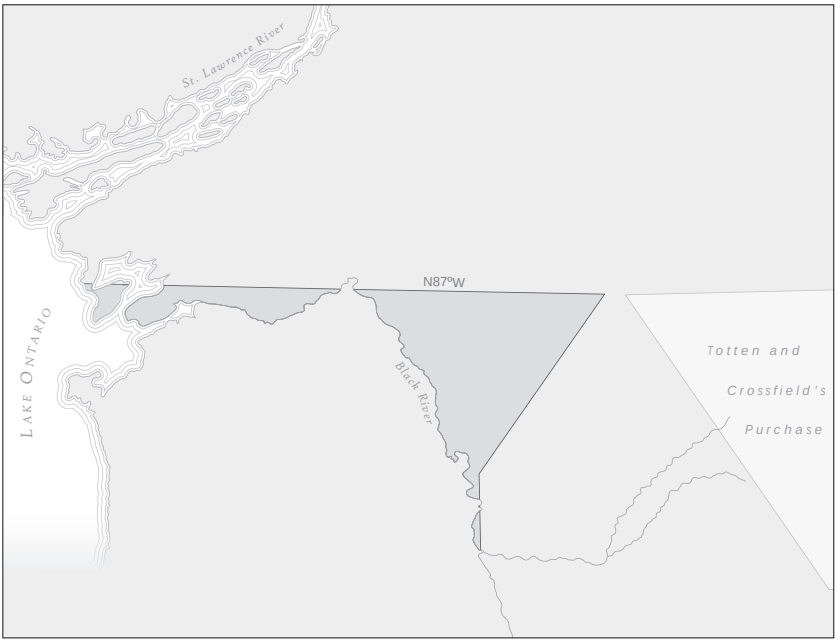
For example, the remarks on "Location" purport to explain the region's commercial advantages. To claim such advantages was certainly plausible, if the geography of this region is considered in general terms. Macomb's Great Tract no. 5 straddled a huge segment of northwestern New York, fronting on Lake Ontario and, in the opposite direction, lying within reach of the important and historic Mohawk River corridor.[17] However, the Prospectus glosses over the contemporary international tensions between the United States and British Canada. The northwestern region of New York State, as was the case for the entire western frontier of the young United States, was part of a complex and precarious border situation, with the British maintaining control of the Western Posts in violation of the Treaty of Peace signed almost a decade earlier. At this time, we are in fact in a period of uncertain boundaries and imminent international crisis.[18] Revealingly, the Prospectus makes no mention of Oswego, under British control yet located on American territory. The degree of resolution of the Native American title to the land is likewise exaggerated.[19]

Most important and compelling perhaps is the description of the navigable waterways to which the New York Company's lands appeared to give access. The Prospectus wears a guise of accuracy in giving a quotation from Jedediah Morse's *American Geography*: "All of the State of New York, *says Morse*, is to such a degree cut & divided by the branches of the Hudson River, the Delaware, the Susquehannak, & other rivers, that there are very few places in its entire expanse which are more than five to six leagues from a navigable river."[20] In using these words, the Prospectus is restating a speculative vision inherited from Cadwallader Colden, who had extolled the extensive network

3. Sauthier's map, with assumed course of the Black River as drawn by William Constable. Constable-Pierrepont Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.



4a. The Castorland tract as anticipated by the New York Company. University of Wisconsin–Madison Cartographic Laboratory.



4b. The Castorland tract as surveyed by Charles Brodhead. University of Wisconsin–Madison Cartographic Laboratory.

of navigable waterways in the United States and in particular those in New York State.[21] This vision was part of the thinking of the leading statesmen of the day, especially after Yorktown, when the development of these waterways, along with the development of the American interior—what the eighteenth century called "communication"—took on a new seriousness imposed by questions of national security.[22]

In this context, such information as that promised by the Prospectus took on decisive importance and made its claims appear realistic and tempting. Rivers both known and—so it seemed—soon to be discovered would furnish easy and inexpensive transportation from the investors' lands to distant markets in both Montreal and New York City. And lands having such navigable rivers as borders, with easy access to the extensive inland "communications" known to exist in the United States, would be an especially valuable acquisition. But the optimism and plausibility of the Prospectus failed to convince, and Chassanis was unable to find enough investors to purchase the full six hundred thousand acres.[23] As this attempted sale took place during the autumn of 1792, soon after the abolition of the monarchy and the declaration of the Republic, political conditions in France may have prevented a successful outcome.[24]

Another reason was certainly the absence of direct topographical knowledge. In a letter to William Constable, James Le Ray de Chaumont complains angrily that the New York Company still had no map of the lands in which they were to invest. Mindful of the disastrous Scioto speculation in Ohio in which French investors had been defrauded outright by American speculators,[25] Le Ray de Chaumont wrote to William Constable on 16 November 1792:

> Indeed I cannot express to you my disappointment at having not the map as we expected. You will know of what importance it was for the sucess of the affair. The Scioto business had rendered it absolutely necessary as it was only by a want of a sufficient knowlege of the geography of the country that the people had been led in a wilderness, while they thought to go in a country well situated in the neighborhood of a well & old settled country . . . Mr. Chassanis has waited for it for weeks & weeks together, but in vain for he has been forced to render this week the Prospectus public without offering a map at the head of it.[26]

This further degree of risk or, to use Le Ray de Chaumont's terms, this "want of sufficient knowledge of the geography of the country," may have been a factor in the failure of Chassanis to find investors in the autumn of 1792. Speculation is of course by definition the acceptance of risk. But if we look closely at the New York Company's Prospectus, we see that it reflects only generally available topographical knowledge rather than describing the actual geographic reality of northwestern New York State. The Prospectus is in fact asking the potential investor to accept a topographical gamble.[27] Morse's realistic yet general description of the abundance of navigable waterways becomes, in the Prospectus,

a wager in which the likely potential of the "*whole* extent," the "*whole* state" is weighed against the possible loss in a "*few* places" (emphasis added).

A few months later, in the summer of 1793, William Constable was able to conclude the sale of two hundred thousand acres to Chassanis. During negotiations with Chassanis and de Chaumont in January 1793, Ward promised to reserve for them 200,000 acres in Great Tract no. 5.[28] This time, Constable had provided a map, a copy of Claude Joseph Sauthier's map of New York, published in London in 1779, with its claim to provide *A Chorographical Description of the Province of New York*. On 28 June 1793, Castorland began its legal existence.[29]

But on this map, Constable had made a mistake. He had drawn the Black River—that is, Castorland's intended southern boundary—as a line extending almost directly westward to Lake Ontario from its source in the western Adirondacks.[30] The true course of the Black River is very different. From the southwestern corner of the Adirondacks, it flows north-northwest in a twisting, winding track before bending sharply westward to empty into Lake Ontario. In the case of the New York Company's Castorland, a financial speculation was being built on geographical conjecture. This meant that any real topographical knowledge of the terrain would come only after its purchase and during the work of settlement. The delay in the acquisition of this knowledge had important consequences for the development of the New York Company.

Exploration and Survey

After a long sea voyage rendered more hazardous by the war between France and England, Pharoux and Desjardins arrived in New York City in the early autumn of 1793. They met with James Constable, William Constable's younger brother, expecting to find their land already surveyed: they learned instead that the promised surveys would only be completed the following year, in the spring. James Constable gave Pharoux and Desjardins no reason for this delay, and they left his office unhappy with their reception and with this news.

The correspondence between William Constable and Samuel Ward reveals the reasons for this delay. We learn that Constable, writing from London, had repeatedly urged Ward to complete the surveys of the New York Company's land before the arrival of the American commissioners. Just as the American commissioners were officially named in Paris by the New York Company and set out on their journey to America, Constable for example wrote urgently to Ward, 2 July 1793: "Let me entreat you to pay an early attention to the surveys."[31] And just weeks later, on 23 July 1793, while Pharoux and Desjardins are on the high seas in the American ship *Liberty*, Constable adds in more urgent tones, "for God's sake attend to the surveys."[32]

To these pleas Samuel Ward responded on 3 November 1793: "The surveys can't be made till next year & I hear nothing of the quality of the lands yet."[33] In his letter to Constable, 10 November 1793, the former soldier explained the

dire situation on the American-Canadian boundary and the threats from British Canada, saying in patriotic tones: "I intend to contract with Cockburn further surveys & have them made early next year. I fear the Indians will trouble us. We shal not go to war unless John Bull drives us into it, if he does we shall beat him damnably—our farmers are rich, love peace but will bleed freely in money & blood if push'd to where the national rights are much invaded."[34] Other complications had also arisen. The potential resistance of the St. Regis Indians to the surveyors—contrary to the promises in the Prospectus and to Macomb's belief in easily concluded negotiations—was another crucial factor in delaying the Castorland surveys. Ward writes to Constable on 7 December 1793: "You press the making of surveys—I am equally anxious to get them done but fear some interruptions from the Indians who live on our side of the St. Lawrence."[35]

Meanwhile, anxious to view their lands, Pharoux and Desjardins had left New York City. Traveling via the Mohawk River, they reached Oswego, where they were almost barred from further travel by the fort's commander and came close to being arrested and sent to British Canada. After navigating the waves of Lake Ontario, they arrived at the bay at the mouth of the Black River. Their first explorations left them satisfied. Alexander Macomb informed William Constable on 30 November 1793: "Desjardins is returned from his visitation of the lands you sold him & his associates, through Chassanis, on the Black River. He is quite satisfied & pleased with the soil & situation & charmed with the entrance into the Black River and does not regret his huit francs per acre."[36]

Then, worrisome news. In the Journal's entry of 12 November 1793, Desjardins notes that their neighbor in upstate New York, William Inman, states that the course of the Black River was in fact far different from what the New York Company had been led to expect.

The year 1794 would confirm Inman's remarks. A principal task—and a major diversion of time and labor—became the mapping of the Black River's course in order to establish Castorland's true boundaries and verify its actual size. Pharoux began the survey in the summer of 1794, and as he progressed, news of the Black River's actual course began to reach Ward and Constable. As the surveying progressed, Pharoux and Desjardins discovered that Castorland's actual boundaries as measured on the ground resulted in a significant detriment to the New York Company. They lost no time in trying to rectify the situation. Desjardins traveled to New York City for an angry interview with Macomb and Ward. To the commissioners' complaints we find a range of responses.

Samuel Ward at first resisted any accommodation with the French agents. Hoping to profit from the alien status of Pharoux and Desjardins, he writes to William Constable on August 30, 1794: "At present it is feared this river runs northerly so as to pass into tract no. 4—and the commissioners of the French company try to trouble us—but as the deeds are to aliens who can't hold, I think we can settle as we think right with these Gentlemen."[37]

More understanding and more willing to help was Alexander Macomb who, having heard from Desjardins, wrote to William Constable on 1 September 1794:

> Desjardins, one of the french men to whom you sold on the south side of the Black River, was in town yesterday from surveying the Land; he is quite uneasy on account of the survey disagreeing very materially from the description by DeWitt on the Map. . . . Whenever an actual survey of the whole can be made, it should be done, and you must from that give in good conscience to all the purchasers their quantities as near the places where they expected them as possible.[38]

To what map is Macomb referring? Perhaps to a map made in 1791, entitled *A Map of the North Division of the State of New York: Shewing the Situation of a Late Purchase Made by Alexander Macomb*."[39] On this map, one can read, significantly, a specific caution written in small letters along the Lake Ontario coastline: "From Oswego to Hague the coastline not laid down with accuracy, it having never been surveyed."[40] This map shows clearly the Black River. but the course indicated—the Black River is shown as flowing almost due west—is in error. This map is likely the source for the course of the Black River as introduced by William Constable onto his copy of Sauthier's map.[41]

Macomb's letter also discusses the uncertain border situation of the early United States. He refers directly to the brinkmanship displayed by John Graves Simcoe and Lord Dorchester and the threat of invasion from Canada. Pharoux's own work of surveying Castorland was part of this era of mapmaking and division of land as the boundaries of the United States became consolidated through American military victories against the British and Indians in the western Ohio region and, on the diplomatic front, by John Jay's negotiating in London for the delivery of the Western Posts. It is clear that international factors such as these created for the Castorland commissioners unforeseeable contingencies.

The year before the arrival of Pharoux and Desjardins in the United States, Le Ray de Chaumont had expressed confidence in dealing with the difficulties of settling in the American wilderness, writing to William Constable on 20 May 1792: "I have reflected upon the subject. I am acquainted with the hardships of new settlements & I really think that if one can be made with advantage by the French it is there."[42] Yet, as the Journal makes clear, the American commissioners encountered hardships and obstacles that surpassed all expectations.

We can find these expectations, at least in part, in the Constitution of the New York Company, Heading 6, Article 4, which sets out the tasks to be accomplished in the United States by the American commissioners (see appendix B):

> The mission of the American Commissioners shall be to verify and establish the outer boundaries of the totality of the lands sold to the shareholders by the Sr. Constable;
>
> to have the surveying, division and subdivision of the said lands carried out.

to attend to the formation of the individual lots, of which it shall be made mention in Heading nine, below, in such a way that they all be of approximately equal value.

to place in possession of the individual lots the owners of these latter, in conformity with the below procedure.

to develop the portion of the said lands which is to remain in association.

And to this end:

1st. to have all mills, workshops, stores and cabins built, that shall be needed.

2nd. to do all felling and burning of trees, as well as all clearings and cultivating.

3rd. to buy all instruments, tools, comestibles and livestock necessary and of indispensable utility.

4th. to sell at modest profit to the new settlers, who shall become established on the lands of the Association, or on those lands sold by It, part of the tools or comestibles which will belong to the Association.

5th. to make all treaties, arrangements, estimates and business arrangements with the surveyors, artisans, workers and day-laborers that they will have to hire for the development of the lands and woods.

6th. to make all rents and sales in the manner most advantageous to the Association, but only on the terrains exceeding the one hundred thousand acres which have remained undivided.

7th. to make, on the most useful prices and conditions, all titles for leasing on the totality of the undivided lands. These leases nevertheless shall not be able to exceed the length of the duration of the Association. They shall be made according to the custom of the country and with consideration given to the progressive growth of the territorial revenue.

8th. to solicit from the government of New York the opening and the making, at the expense of the said government, of the main roads and canals for communication.

9th. to plan and have executed the particular roads in order to go from one district or canton to another.

Their mission shall also consist in receiving the price of the sales, incomes, leasings, and to give receipt of them; to make to the Company's account all importation to France of the goods from the increase of the lands of the said Association.

And finally to manage and administer with zeal, economy and intelligence all the interests of the Association in America.

In assigning these tasks, the Constitution is more realistic in tone and content than the Prospectus, and given the assumptions on which the sale to Chassanis was based, the work expected of the American commissioners can be considered ambitious but realistic. From the Journal, it is clear that Pharoux and

Desjardins labored diligently to accomplish the goals listed in the Constitution as their "mission."

But the Castorland Journal takes us from financial speculation and overseas planning to the accumulation of contingencies that were part of the daily reality of beginning a large-scale settlement on New York State's northwestern frontier in the late eighteenth century. Each year of the Journal reveals Pharoux's and Desjardins' efforts to progress in their assigned goals, but also a series of misfortunes, such as the illness that overcame them in the woods their first year; or complaints about scarce or idle workers; dishonest businessmen; insufficient funding from the New York Company; worries over the validity of the Castorland land title, held by Pierre Chassanis, a French citizen (see Journal entry for 20 January 1796). Above all, there was the discovery of Castorland's true boundaries, which gave the New York Company not a single large tract of land, but a series of unconnected parcels, divided by the Black River's unexpected meanderings. And finally there was the cruel loss of Pharoux in the autumn of 1795.

Eventually, the New York Company, dissatisfied with the progress in the sale of its lands, dismissed Desjardins, who, although disheartened by Pharoux's death, was yet managing to accomplish small but consistent gains, consolidating the base settlement and planning new ones. Desjardins had to spend his final months at Castorland helping his replacement, a newcomer to the region, benefit from his years of work and hard-won experience. This bitter chore completed, Desjardins left Castorland, and the Journal ends with his departure. His replacement, Rodolphe Tillier, began to spend the Company's limited funds freely, just as Desjardins had foreseen.[43]

Aftermath

With the end of the Journal and Desjardins' departure, Castorland entered a new phase in its development. The administration of Rodolphe Tillier proved to be controversial, and the New York Company soon made efforts to remove him from his official functions. Gouverneur Morris, friend and business associate of Pierre Chassanis and James Le Ray de Chaumont, played a prominent role in these proceedings, appointing Richard Coxe as manager of the Castorland store at the High Falls (originally called by Pharoux and Desjardins the "Great Fall": see appendix G). Both Chassanis and Le Ray de Chaumont had also filed lawsuits against Tillier, in July 1799.[44] Tillier resisted these efforts, and in June 1800, Coxe "took forcible possession . . . of the property generally."[45] Tillier reacted by publishing in October 1800, in both French and English, a defense of his administration.[46] His account contains much self-aggrandizement, but some of his complaints may have been justified.[47] We learn for example that he had worked to resolve the boundary problem with the help of Alexander Hamilton and obtain a new deed for Castorland; and also to validate Chassanis's land title, a concern that Desjardins had already expressed.[48] A year later, he began legal proceedings to block Coxe's appointment.[49]

Tillier is certainly correct in pointing out the adverse effect that these legal proceedings had on Castorland's reputation and development.[50]

After Tillier's removal, a lack of leadership seems to have existed at Castorland itself.[51] Both William Constable and Pierre Chassanis died in 1803. With Gouverneur Morris, James Le Ray de Chaumont visited the region in 1803 in order to view their lands, but the death that same year of de Chaumont's father required him to return to France in 1804 and settle his father's estate. Appointed Lewis County's first county clerk in 1805, Richard Coxe's relationship to Castorland becomes unclear.[52] Jacob Brown (1775–1828), who settled in Castorland in 1799 and would become a distinguished general during the War of 1812, served as agent for James Le Ray de Chaumont until 1807.[53]

Descriptions of Castorland at the turn of the century reveal that the settlement had made little progress. A letter written in 1859 by Vincent Le Ray de Chaumont (1790–1875), son of James Le Ray de Chaumont, provided a general account of the history of the New York Company, and described the Castorland of 1800 as a combination of poor planning and squandered resources: "In 1800, after contracting a debt of more than 300,000 livres, all [the New York Company's] expenses had produced only one saw-mill, eighteen log-houses, and eighty-two acres of clearing. So few settlers had been obtained, that there were only eleven log-houses, and one hundred and thirty acres cleared, in addition to those of the Company. Several roads had indeed, been made, and at a great expense; but besides being ill made, or injudiciously laid out, the want of population soon rendered them useless."[54] William Constable wrote to James Le Ray de Chaumont in September 1801 from Rome, N.Y., that "that Land is fallen into total Oblivion. The Settlers have ceased to think of it & turn their views elsewhere."[55] During a visit to the region in 1803, his brother James Constable commented on the lack of settlement: "Cross the river in a scow, the ferry kept by Baptiste, a Frenchman, one of a considerable number who settled here some years ago, but very few now remain, and the buildings being mostly in ruins, the country appears desolate."[56] According to Hough, the total number of acres sold was just over 22,300 acres, and the New York Company was in debt.[57]

The decision of James Le Ray de Chaumont to establish a home in the region and to come live near the Black River in 1808 potentially meant a clearer direction over Castorland's affairs.[58] But the prosperity and development to which he contributed as landowner in Franklin, St. Lawrence, Jefferson, and Lewis counties seems to have bypassed Castorland. There were few settlers at Castorland itself. Henri Boutin, who had arrived in 1796, purchased a thousand acres of land at the Long Falls; Desjardins held several thousand acres of land in Point Peninsula; Nicolas Olive, another of the New York Company's shareholders, purchased a tract of 4,050 acres.[59] But there was "never a sufficient infusion of people and resources to produce a viable settlement. In all, only about 20 French families resided there at one time or another."[60] Debt accumulated by the New York Company led to the sale of Castorland's re-

maining lands in 1814. That year, the New York Company, after an existence of twenty-one years, was officially dissolved, pursuant to Heading 11, Article 1, of its Constitution. James Le Ray de Chaumont acquired control of the Castorland tract, and with the help of his son Vincent continued his speculations in land in northern New York State during his active career in both Europe and the United States.[61]

In his letter of 1859, Vincent Le Ray de Chaumont, like his father, criticized the "Parisian administration" for their unrealistic expectations of wealth and for their lack of understanding of the realities of settlement.[62] In the Castorland Journal, Desjardins had already recorded his concerns over the high cost of settlement, or over the validity of Chassanis's land titles, criticizing indirectly the New York Company's leadership (see, for example, the Journal entry for 5 June 1796). Similar concerns occupied Tillier's administration.

5. Pharoux's plan for Baron de Steuben's estate. Courtesy of the Oneida County Historical Society, Utica, New York.

The persistence of these concerns justifies Desjardins to a certain extent and raises important questions. What might Castorland have become? Was the desolation that James Constable observed in 1803 an inevitable outcome? Today, one can still view the detailed plan that Pierre Pharoux made in 1794 for the future estate of Baron Steuben.[63] In considering this striking plan or others made by Pharoux for his eighteenth-century patrons, we see examples of his artistic genius and gain an idea of what he and Desjardins intended to build and create on their new lands.

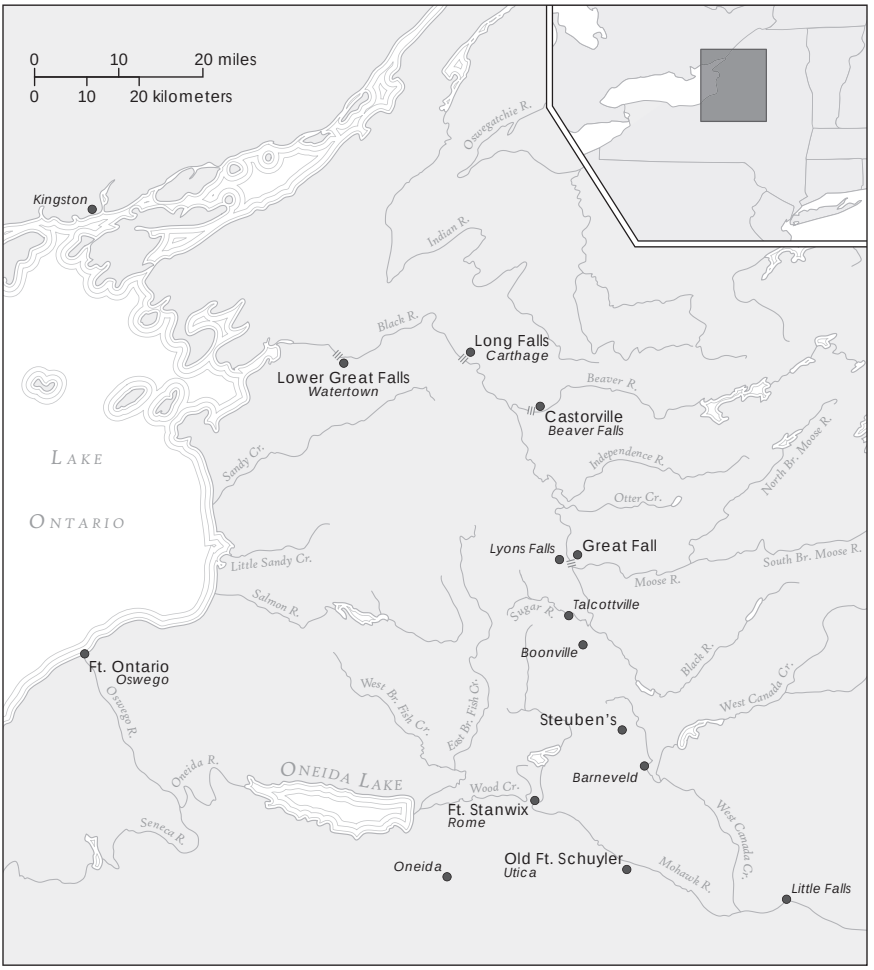
The Journal and Early America

Besides the tasks of settlement, Pharoux and Desjardins were required to keep a journal, pursuant to Article 10, 6th Heading, of the New York Company's Constitution, which states: "*The Commissioners in America shall keep a journal of all their operations*." The New York Company's American commissioners fulfill this duty admirably, their careful observations conferring on their narrative a literary and historical value long recognized by its readers.[64] Pharoux and Desjardins meet important social and political figures in Paris and New York City, in Albany and Philadelphia, on the Hudson River and along the Mohawk. We catch glimpses of Pharoux's and Desjardins' relations with the cultural world of the French émigrés, of Pharoux's incipient career as an American architect.[65]

More important, to the traditional compass of New York State history with its focus on movements north and south, east to west, the Castorland Journal adds new directions as a key episode in the history of Macomb's Purchase is brought to life in northwestern New York State. As the New York Company's American commissioners work to develop the Company's lands on the shores of the Black River Valley, we meet guides and boatmen; clerks, shopkeepers, and early surveyors; fellow landowners and recent settlers; workers hired to cut new roads through the forests; Native Americans who travel the Black River Valley as they hunt. As the surveying of Castorland progresses and new outposts are begun, we see Pharoux and Desjardins ambitious in their plans to reach out to Canada, to Kingston and Montreal. Throughout the Journal, we find ourselves, so to speak, in motion.[66]

Overall, the Castorland Journal reveals a prospective vision of the American land that belongs to the early Republic in general.[67] Changes in the American landscape, like those emerging from Macomb's Purchase, are constituting themselves throughout the nation in the late eighteenth century. Within the linear chronology of the Journal's record, with its almost relentless focus on the present, there is the constant sense of an imminent future. To this future, others than Pharoux and Desjardins would belong, and their Journal, an account of the New York Company's Castorland, also becomes the story of two individuals who are forever beginning their brief but significant American careers.

Eastorland Journal



6. Map of New York State showing location of rivers, streams, settlements, and cities mentioned in the Castorland Journal, giving in certain cases both historical place-names and current place-names. University of Wisconsin–Madison Cartographic Laboratory.

Castorland Journal 1793

ARRIVAL AND FIRST EXPLORATIONS

1 July 1793 Are named as the Company's American commissioners Messrs. Pharoux and Desjardins.

To M. Chassanis, Director,[1] Pharoux gives his receipt for the property titles and receives the sum of one thousand *livres* in *assignats* for travel expenses.[2]

Desjardins receives his instructions, and, as the shares were not yet printed, he entrusts M. Chassanis, on his recognizance, with M. Lambot's receipts for sixty shares.

That evening left with his brother in the coach for Le Havre de Grace, leaving Pharoux authorization to pick up his brother's passport, which had not yet been sent to the Department.

2 July 1793 Arrived in Rouen. Stayed to meet with M. Le Normand and settle several shipping accounts.[3]

Pharoux deposited with M. Lambot receipts for twenty whole shares, of which he is to keep as security only the twenty coupons of undivided shares, and is to deliver the twenty coupons of divided shares to his legal representative.

3 July Received at Rouen the passport for Desjardins the younger,[4] with a letter from Pharoux. Messrs. Desjardins left for Le Havre in the evening. Pharoux's departure is made ready.

4 July Arrival of Messrs. Desjardins at Le Havre, where they rejoined Mme. Desjardins and their family. M. de Longuemare had already arranged with Captain Macdougall passage on the American ship *Liberty*, 180 tons, for M. and Mme. Desjardins, two children and two servants, at the rate of five thousand *livres*. Desjardins arranges Pharoux's passage for one thousand *livres*.

Through M. Le Ray,[5] Pharoux receives in Paris the letters and packages of Mr. Morris, the American ambassador,[6] and at five o'clock in the afternoon, leaves in the coach with his father.

5 July The belongings of Messrs. Desjardins and of their family are put on board. Desjardins goes to Montivilliers to get information on the Acadians. In the evening, Pharoux arrives in Rouen and sets out again by coach for Le Havre.

6 July The commissioners meet in Le Havre. Pharoux does not find his portfolio,[7] requests of Messrs. Baudry and Boulogne that they make arrangements for his belongings, which had not yet arrived, and gives them the keys to his trunks.[8]

The Commissioners go to see M. de la Motte, the American consul, to present the titles in order that he collate and legalize the copies of them made by M. de Crèvecoeur.[9]

7 July Desjardins takes Pharoux to see M. de Longuemare, who pays his passage, 1,036 *livres*, for which he gives him an order for payment upon M. Le Ray. Belongings put on board. Stops by the office of the Marine to have our passports registered. Saw again M. Delamotte, who refuses to legalize and collate the copies of M. de Crèvecoeur, promises to send us the originals on the first boat without fail and to send the legalized copies to M. Chassanis.

In the evening, departure of a large convoy for Cherbourg. The departure of this convoy had detained all foreign ships in the port for a month. Our departure set for the next day.

8 July Embarking and departure from the harbor of Le Havre at eight in the morning. On three separate occasions the ship is inspected by the National Guard.

Showing of our passports.[10] Had to remain in the harbor to wait for the captain, who was suing one of the passengers. Much trouble in settling forty passengers in a ship suitable at most for twelve. Distress of Mme. Bancel, wife of the litigant, on not seeing her husband return. At eight in the evening, the captain returns. We receive by the same sloop the Constitution of the Company, a letter from M. Lambot, and a farewell note from M. Pharoux, the father.

9 July 1793 At daybreak, departure from the roads. Thunder, bringing with it bad weather, which continues until the 14th. While emerging from the Channel, we can see the coasts of England, Lands-End and Cape Lisard.

13 July In the south-west, we can see a fleet escorted by ships of the line. We hear heavy cannon-fire.

14 July Near Bordeaux, encounter with an English privateer from Guernsey, carrying twenty-four guns, who, under a French flag and speaking

French, claiming to be from St. Malo, inspected us and made the captain come on board to examine his papers. This privateer kept up his ruse to the point of sending on board the crew of his sloop decked out in red caps.[11] Finding our captain in order, he finally admitted to his being English and upon leaving us hoisted his true flag.

15 July to 14 August Wind in the stern and fine traveling for three weeks; then, calms and stifling heat.

During this time, the character of each passenger grew more visible, and they no longer bothered with their masquerading once they made themselves known.

Most of our passengers intended to go on to the French islands and were going by way of the United States to take advantage of the protection of the American flag. We had a merchant with an actress from Le Havre who had thought it opportune to leave behind a husband, children and creditors, as these were very cumbersome; a painter of miniatures with his close friend, a former working girl in Le Havre; an English swindler with his so-called wife and niece, both former citizens of the Hôtel d'Angleterre and not overmodest denizens of the Palais Royal.[12] But the noisiest group was that of the litigant Bancel, his wife and his screeching family, consisting of four children, one of which was being breast-fed; this lovely family was always arguing either among themselves or with some of the passengers or some of the crew.

Claiming to be jealous of an *élégante* from the Cape who was on board,[13] the actress thought it fitting to lapse into the tragic style and poisoned herself by swallowing a phial of mercury: it had been destined by this person for healing those whom she counted on wounding with her charms.[14] By administering doses of oil, we saved her. The lady of the Palais Royal, upon unexpectedly finding a letter that a Creole gallant was handing through a crack in the wall of her cabin to her so-called niece, made a most striking scene in which she revealed the depth of her depravity and that of her dear companion: the *mouchoirs* of the generous Creole and his money finally restored peace.[15]

The best-behaved of the lot were six young people who, among these Sirens, conducted themselves as the older ones ought to have done.

Soon, tables had to be separated. The captain had taken on the passengers and their money, without taking on extra provisions. Morsels were being fought over. A piece of sugar or a cup of coffee aroused a quarrel. It was finally decided to form groups of seven. The commissioners and their family happening to make this number were then able at least to eat without criticism the slight portion that they were given. The ration for seven people was a very scrawny chicken or duck, with peas, or rice, or potatoes, and that was it for the whole day. The salted meat, which they gave out besides, was appalling: along with this, bad water, which they gave us sparingly at that, the captain furnishing no other drink.

15 August 1793 Encounter with the French frigate *La Blonde*, near the Bermudas. She makes us lower our flag and sends men on board to inspect. Her Captain, citizen Deslandes, has our captain and two of our passengers, officers in the French Marine, brought onto his ship in order to verify their passports. The officer sent to inspect us turns out to have been friends with Desjardins' brother-in-law in the Isle de France. The officers conduct themselves with every French courtesy and have oranges, syrups, and fresh bread, which we had not tasted since leaving Le Havre, brought to the ladies. They inform us of the burning of the Cape, and warn us that English privateers are swarming between the Bermudas and the continent and stopping all American vessels in which there are French persons or French property. The sailors of the frigate, annoyed that there was nothing to gain from us, cry out *Aux aristocrates*,[16] and demand that they be shown an old flag in the top, claiming that it was a white flag. They do more: they clamber up the ropes to unfurl it. The officers look away, and we shudder at an act of insubordination that can indeed become fatal in time of war.

16 August to 5 September To shake off their weariness from the calm and to procure good winds, our crew decided to administer a tropical baptism ahead of schedule, as we were only at the 29th degree. Through the violent resistance of one of the passengers, this scene almost became tragic; but it all ended in the ducking of a boy from the crew and in giving the sailors a gratification.

We caught various kinds of fish: a swordfish, a fish long, flat and very voracious, very beautiful silvery colors, extraordinarily long jaw well supplied with teeth. A flying fish threw itself onto the deck. Some small fish were caught, of which the spine on their back makes a very singular mechanical motion; a pilotfish of the shark, a delicate fish; and a shark about six feet long. After its head and tail were cut off and its entrails emptied, the trunk still moved its fins when thrown into the sea. We saw some dolphins leaping and a long succession of whales and baby whales making their way northwards. We caught quite a few golden fish,[17] as delightful to look upon as delicious to eat for the passengers.

We saw magnificent aurorae boreales[18] and, in the warm latitudes, very frequent rains. We gathered many *tropical grapes*. To this a small pretty shellfish, of the polyp species, attaches itself. When it is put back into the water, it opens; and its proboscis, similar to a feather's fine barb, makes a half-circular movement as it moves it forward or back. The round seeds attached to this plant have given it the name of *grape*, and are the crustaceous envelope of another kind of polyp.

Near the Tropic, the clouds at sunset take on marvelous shapes which shine with sparkling fires.

In the environs of the Bermudas, where the calms held us for three weeks, swallows came to our ship.

We caught a *lanscornet*,[19] a cartilaginous fish of an extremely bizarre shape. Its entire body is only a kind of pink-colored mucilage. A single, arrow-shaped bone is found in it. Its tail is divided into several smaller ones, strewn with slimy beads similar to the eyes of an ox. It has a beak like that of a parrot. This fish heralds nearness to land, being an inhabitant of the rocks to which it strongly fastens itself.

Saw many *Nautili*, which the Creoles name *Galley-fish*. This cartilaginous fish travels about with the help of the wind. Rolling over onto its back, it stretches out a purple sail and uses its feet as oars. Whenever it becomes afraid, it hauls in its sail, turns its shell back on top and sinks down to the bottom.

Throughout the months of July and August, during the night, the sea was luminous and phosphorescent.

Unable to succeed in rounding the Bermudas, the normal route for ships, our Captain decided to pass east of these islands, in spite of the fear of encountering the false Bermudas, which have never been seen. This route sheltered us from the English privateers, and we met only one ship, in rather poor condition, it having left Ireland about three months earlier for Philadelphia. They were unable to give us any reliable information.

The next day, a ship from Rhode Island, going to the Islands, gave us a reckoning that differed from our Captain's. In fact, we were sailing under God's care.

6 September 1793 After three days of a very strong and favorable wind, the captain having made no use of the sounding line on the deck and reckoning, at noon, that he was 80 miles from New York, we almost ran aground on the Jersey shore, right near the port. Fortunately, at 10 in the evening, we were nearly all on the upper deck, the vessel almost entirely on its side and close to the rather violent wind, when Pharoux, who was standing on the ropes, caught sight of, in spite of the darkness of the night, the white line of foam from the sea breaking against the steep shore of white sand and above, a very dark line formed by the green trees. He alerted M. Delarmoise, one of our passengers and a captain from Nantes, who immediately cried out: *land!* Among the passengers we had, fortunately, two other seamen. Each rushed to maneuver, and within a minute the vessel was brought about into the wind. The American captain and his men had lost their heads, so much so that the lieutenant wanted to impose a fine because, in order to change course more quickly, a maneuver had been omitted. After having cried out: *loff all! loff all! Lâche tout!*, the Captain, completely shaken, went to hide himself in his cabin. Once out of danger, we sounded, found three *brasses*[20] of water: and so we had been kept afloat only by the wind's force and by the rising tide.

7 September 1793 After fleeing land all night long, we searched for it again at daybreak. Around eight, we glimpsed the heights of Neversink and followed the coast, enjoying the pleasure of seeing land again. At ten, caught

sight of the Sandy Hook lighthouse. Pharoux got into the coastal pilot's small craft in order to reach New York ahead of us and ensure us of housing. He arrived there at nine in the evening, after regaling himself with fresh potatoes, salt pork and apples along the way. He found no housing. All the rooms, even the beds in the attics of the inns and pensions were full of four thousand French refugees from the Cap and islands, on the one hand; on the other, of many inhabitants from Philadelphia, whom fear of the epidemic had chased away. After many difficulties arising from their poor English, Messrs. Euger, Le Rebours and Pharoux stayed in a tavern.[21] For each, a mattress was spread out in a room in which men were playing *galets*,[22] and they ate like people starved for two months. For their supper and bed, the proprietor modestly requested four and a half piastres the next morning.[23]

During this time, Desjardins witnessed the final scenes that the passengers, not even restrained by the presence of the Americans, acted out. The Captain did not fail to give a lengthy recital of all the French extravagances of which he had been spectator, and often actor, something for which he consoled himself by thinking of the sums that he had gained and of the little which it had cost him to feed his travelers.

Within sight of Sandy Hook, a rain squall caught us: fortunately, it drove away an English privateer which was cruising at the entrance to the bay in order to intercept ships. We saw with great relief that it was forced to seek the open sea. We passed through the strait between Staten and Long islands. At nightfall the landscape offered us a striking and picturesque view, and as we emerged from the strait, the city of New York, illuminated by its streetlamps, was displayed before our eyes: but as the tide was running out, we had to lower anchor in the bay. Our ears, wearied for two months by the deep ocean calm, were filled with the pleasure of hearing dogs barking and other sounds coming from the land.

8 September Upon awakening, we enjoyed the magnificent view of New York's harbor and of the city, located on the point of the island formed by the North and East rivers. We breakfasted on beets, butter, fresh bread and coffee, which were brought to the ship for us. It was only at ten that the gang-plank was placed on land and the vessel moored.

Pharoux, coming on board, informed us that there was no housing. Desjardins spoke to the captain, who allowed them to sleep on board until they could find a pension. Desjardins the younger and Pharoux went for their meals to the coffee-house, which set an excellent table for a dollar a day, and from which meals were sent to the ship for Desjardins and his family.

Desjardins left to deliver to Mr. William Seton, cashier of the bank,[24] the letters from M. de Crèvecoeur and the bills of lading for the merchandise that he had placed under his name for fear of the English. Mr. Seton received him with perfect courtesy. He sent his son after Mme. Desjardins, on board the ship. He insisted on our dining with him, and he then charged his son with attending to our personal matters and finding us housing.

9.10.11.12 September Still housed on the ship. Impossible to find a pension, in spite of our searching and that of our acquaintances. Saw and delivered our letters to Governor Clinton, to Messrs. Harrison, Livingston, Ramsay; Thibaud, Desdoity and Ledet, three Frenchmen living in New York.[25] Visited our acquaintances from the ship. Delivered our passports to the Consulate, to have them registered. Wrote to the Company of our arrival.

13 September 1793 We found housing finally at the home of the widow Ford, with whom we came to the agreement that she would lodge our family only, at the rate of five dollars for each adult and two and a half dollars for each child and servant, per week. Pharoux has M. Chassanis's bill of exchange negotiated. The epidemic in Philadelphia having driven out Congress and travel being broken off, we decided to postpone our trip there until we returned from the Black River.

14 September 1793 to the 20th of the same Busy searching for a house, in vain. Finally the excessive price of rents and provisions made us decide to spend the winter in Albany, inasmuch as that brings us 156 miles closer to Castorland. This decision was made after consulting with Mr. Seton, in spite of the tedium that they said staying in this small city would entail. Our belongings were unloaded and taken to the port for the Albany ships. Desjardins' trunk of books was seized, it being claimed that one man cannot make use of so many books (nearly 2,000 volumes). His cases of wine were also confiscated for lack of a declaration, whereas he had been told that whatever was for his own use did not need to be declared. The honest Captain fully intended to take half of what was seized, as being the informant, and to treat himself at the expense of the French: but the respectable intervention of Mr. Seton, who excused a foreigner's mistake brought on by the law's lack of detail, and an exemption from General Lamb, customs collector, brought full restitution to Desjardins, who only had to pay the entry fee for the wines. The clerks contented themselves with keeping a few bottles to examine, according to the universal laws of all the customs clerks of either hemisphere.

We went to see James Constable, brother of our seller, who received us in a rather singular fashion, as we did not yet have our property titles.[26] He had assumed that we were the commissioners of the Boylston party, which had not fulfilled its engagements.[27] He told us that he had indeed received the order to have the boundary-lines run but that it was too late to proceed, and that we could count on this task being finished with the first days of spring. And so we gave up any idea of doing any operation this year; we had moreover no funds, and in order to make the best use of the little time which remained to us, we decided to use it to travel to our lands in order to reconnoitre them at least and be able to provide our Company with a description of them; presuming that, during the winter, the merchandise, which we had been led to expect from France, could arrive, be sold and furnish funds for the 1794 campaign. We also saw Mr. Macomb, who was the first to purchase

this tract: he gave us information about the area, having spent a part of his life in upper Canada.[28]

20 September 1793 Left New York for Albany on the sloop the *General Schuyler*, Captain Wendell. There we found for company M. de Marbois,[29] former consul in New York; Madame de Croze, wife of the Lieutenant General of the Cap Français, who were going up to Livingston mannor; a lady from New York; her sister and Mr. Porter, merchant in Bennington, the capital of the state of Vermont.

The navigation of the North River is very picturesque. From New York up to Tappan Zee, the shores are of steep rock. Along the island of New York, numerous country houses, attractively located. Upon leaving the Tappan Zee, where the river greatly widens, one enters Haverstraw Bay, where it again widens considerably, at the end of which you can see the High Lands, a strait between enormous mountains where the river has carved out an exceedingly tortuous passage and where the sounding line does not touch bottom.

As the tide was abandoning us, we dropped anchor at Verplank Point and waited for the morning tide in order to enter this defile.

21 September 1793 At night, we had a chance to observe the American manner of making love. The merchant from Bennington courted the *belle* from New York, teased her, etc. all night long and got up five or six times to have her drink down little glasses of Madeira. Her married sister, present at all of this, kept laughing as hard as she could. This scandalized our French ladies while keeping them from falling asleep. In the morning, these tender lovers, lying in turn on each other's breast, rid each other of lice in a way that could not have been accomplished more amorously, something which again shocked the French sense of propriety: but to each country, its own customs, and we made our ladies promise not to act surprised at anything.

At daybreak, we entered the High Lands. This portion of the trip covers about twenty miles and presents at every moment variations in landscape, each more astonishing than the last. Our attention was especially directed, on the east, to a mountain called Antony's Nose, which does indeed well represent an aquiline nose. On the west are the various forts constructed by the Americans to defend this important pass. All of these forts are dominated by the one at West Point, the very fort that the traitor Arnold wanted to deliver to the English and where the arsenal of Congress is currently located. We were shown the spot where the English frigate had been anchored to await him in the event of his failure and in which he escaped. Upon leaving the High Lands, the river resumes its full width and its northward course in a straight line as far as the eye can see. New Windsor and New Burrough are spread out on the west. Many sloops are built in these two small cities.

Towards evening, at Redhook, we passed in front of the Livingston mannor, where are located the very attractive country homes of the Livingston family and that of M. Labigare, a Frenchman.[30] Here, M. de Marbois and

Madame de Croze left us. On the other side of the river, several miles distant, is the mouth of the Esopus, which offers a charming view. This river feeds four small cities. Its banks offer very fertile lands from which are collected the region's best fruit and cider.

22 September 1793 It being calm, we made little progress. Towards evening, we saw Hudson, a city begun in 1784 and which has already more than six thousand inhabitants. Very attractive location, on a plateau which extends into a bay that the river forms 120 miles from the sea and up to where the largest vessels can go. After Hudson, the river is strewn with low islands which obstruct navigation and contribute to the formation of sand-bars over which only sloops of 60 tons can pass. We reach New Baltimore, a new city that, being too close to Hudson, is making little progress.

23 September We arrived in the morning at Kinderhook, the attractive port of a small city two miles further inland. From this location, navigation becomes more difficult, up to Vinners, where is located the channel with the least amount of water. From here to Albany, the distance is only five miles, and we got off with the captain in order to reach this city more quickly and find a boarding-house for our family's arrival. We followed a rather bad route, very hilly. Near a very light bridge, built over a torrent which operates a sawmill, we found a large piece of walnut wood which was completely petrified. Encountered many pretty striped squirrels, which Buffon calls *l'écureuil suisse*;[31] many spiny fruits of the *philotana*, or American grape; and some authentic wild grape, of which a black species among others, was very sweet and suitable for making wine; numerous white pines and pine for making pitch; the lands, clay and quartzous sand.

General Schuyler's house, commanding the view of Albany, is very well located, as well as that of Peter Yeates, a little to one side.

At eleven in the morning, we entered Albany by Washington Street, which does not do justice to the grandeur of its name. From there, we went to the home of Mr. Vanderheyden, an Albany merchant who, having resided a long time in Montreal, spoke French, as did his wife; we had a letter of recommendation for him. In accordance with our main request, which was to procure an asylum for us and our family, which was about to arrive, he led us to the home of Major Wright,[32] with whom we came to an agreement at the rate of three dollars, for each adult, and half, for each child and servant. We had just moved our things in when the sloop arrived. The city of Albany had been described to us as being so dreary that we considered it to be quite pretty: it is true that it has improved greatly and is improving every day.

The Captain took twenty shillings from us, or two and one half piastres, for food for four days, and ten shillings for the trip, and we were very well treated. The trip is sometimes made in twenty-four hours, sometimes in eight days, according to the winds.

In the evening, we delivered our letters to Mr. Abraham Cuyler, to whom Mr. Seton had recommended us, and to a Mr. Lush,[33] a lawyer to whom Mr. Harrison had directed us.

24 September 1793 We delivered to Mr. Dewitt,[34] Surveyor-General of the State of New York, the letter from M. de Crèvecoeur and the one that Governor Clinton had given us for him, and gathered in his office information on our purchase, on the roads and surrounding country. He made clear to us the impossibility of penetrating there by land this year, there being no road opened for more than thirty miles, and the roads already made being almost impracticable for people unaccustomed to travel in these regions. His advice was to take the lake and river route; by water, we could go all the way from Schenectady, except for three short portages at Little Falls on the Mohawk; at Fort Stanwix, in order to get from the Mohawk to Wood Creek; and at the *falls* (*chûtes*) of the Onnondago. The only obstacle was Fort Oswego, held by the English at the mouth of the Onnondago; and as we were French, it was to be feared that they would not let us through and might even take us prisoner.

25 September 1793 We saw General Schuyler, and delivered to him a letter of recommendation from Mr. Harrison. Upon our asking his advice, he recommended that we take Major de Zeng with us as he knew the country,[35] was a compatriot and friend of the Commandant at Oswego, would facilitate our passage, and spare us much of the annoyance and cheating to which we might be exposed due to our status as foreigners and ignorance of the language.

The same evening, we met Major de Zeng at Mr. Vanderheyden's. He offered us his services, and we set a rendez-vous to discuss our business and settle expenses for the trip.

26 September Not finding a house in Albany any more successfully than in New York, we again had recourse to General Schuyler, who advised us to go to Schenectady, where he suggested some addresses for us. He assured us that living there was much less expensive than in Albany, and that being there would bring us that much closer to our purchase. We asked about Major de Zeng. We were told that we could trust him: in addition, we reflected that it was better to be cheated by one person than by everyone, our experience already beginning to make us aware of the general character of the inhabitants.

27 September 1793 We made the trip to Schenectady, 16 miles from Albany. Road of sand, and poor countryside, covered with pitch-pine.

The city quite attractively located on a peninsula of the Mohawk, and from the contrast it makes with the arid desert that we had just crossed, its location appears all the more charming. Delivered our letters of recommendation to Mr. Duane,[36] an important judge in the State, and to Mr. Glen,[37]

member of Congress and father-in-law to Mr. Cuyler in Albany. We went to see the house suggested by General Schuyler: it was not habitable. Two others, due to our being French, were of an excessive price. We did not therefore come to an agreement. Saw Mr. Murdawk, clerk to Mr. Porteous,[38] and to whom we also delivered a letter. He offered us his store for use as a warehouse: this we accepted.

In France, with letters of recommendation for the leading persons of station in each town, a foreigner would be welcomed, fêted, etc.[39] In this country, they take your letter; they have you sit down; they bring a glass of Madeira wine and then, everything is over. Most of them not only do not return your visits; still less, any dinners, offering a place to stay, etc.: but if you wish to invite the people to whom you have been recommended to a Tavern, they will come most willingly.

28 September 1793 We came back to Albany, where Desjardins experienced a further example of American good faith. He had rented a cabriolet and a horse to go to Schenectady, and, to prevent any so-called error, the agreement was made by a third party who knew both languages. He therefore paid for the carriage accordingly: but after dinner, a man came and requested the rent for the horse. Desjardins had the person who had concluded the agreement summoned. He got out of it by this clever distinction: *Major Wright told us that the price was one dollar per day, but not that he would give you his carriage for one dollar. To do you this service, he was obliged to rent this horse for another dollar: and so, instead of getting angry at him, you ought to pay him and send him your thanks*. It was therefore necessary to pay up, since the party, the witness, the judges, everyone, would have been for the American and against the Frenchman.

In the evening, M. Brunel and M. Euger, two of our passengers from the *Liberty*, came and joined us.[40] Brunel decided to make the trip to Castorland with us: we were delighted with this, as he is a good sailor and a man of resolve. M. Euger promised to remain in Albany until Desjardins' family had found a house to live in.

The same evening, came to an understanding with Major de Zeng: we paid him at the rate of two piastres per day. He is to assume responsibility for all purchases, for hiring men, etc. The total cost of the trip evaluated at 200 piastres and expected to last a month.

29.7ber. 1793 to 1.8ber[41] Spent this time in looking for a house to rent, to no avail. Went to Troy, a small city six miles from Albany, with no more success.

Preparations for Desjardins' departure, who is obliged to leave his family behind in a pension until they can find a residence.

As we were about to leave, we deliberated on the choice of a secretary, and we agreed to give Desjardins the younger this mark of trust. We therefore gave him the titles, correspondence, and charged him with maintaining it,

with receiving and opening letters in our absence and corresponding with Mr. William Seton in regard to the Company's business, should the need arise.

2 October 1793 In the afternoon, left Albany with Brunel in a four-wheeled cart, called a *waggon*,[42] and drawn by two horses. We noticed how poorly the forests were exploited. The resin is not put to any profitable use. Due to a lack of precautions, a large section of the forest caught on fire.

League after league, several small properties of good quality, with springs, on the banks of which are so many *loghouses*[43] and each one with a sign: for, in order to avoid the cost of offering hospitality, every good American, if he is located on a road, puts a sign on his door, and in these taverns you often find no bread, nor meat, nor bed.

At night, arrived in Schenectady, slept at the City Tavern in the attic and in dirty sheets, as clean sheets are put out every Sunday. For dinner and bed for the three of us, they took 9 shillings 9 pence. At Mr. Murdowk's, we bought some provisions for the road, as we were not to meet up with our crew and equipment until we reached Little Falls.

3 October 1793 At eleven thirty in the morning left Schenectady in a batteau that Mr. de Zeng had bought for us for 10 piastres. This batteau is 15 feet long by 4 wide in the middle; the two ends are pointed.[44] There being only a half-load, only two boatmen are to conduct us to Little Falls. They use alternately oars, paddles and poles, which they call *setting pole* (*pieu ferré que l'on pique*). We put on board only the biscuit, rum and our baggage, since we were to pick up the rest at Mr. de Zeng's.

Brunel complained, in true sailor fashion, that we had brought no fresh water on board. We told him that in case of need, we would use that from the rivers and lakes.

Above Schenectady, the river forms several islands that reveal an attractive perspective, very nicely overlooked by the house of Mr. John Saunderson. We noticed that the Mohawk, although of a fine width, had little depth, and that, in this season, its typical depth was only three feet and varied, in the more recessed sections, from one to five or six feet.

At about a mile, we encountered the first rapid, formed from two currents which join at the lower point of an island where they have piled up small rocks which block the route. When we had crossed this obstacle by using poles, which they plant on the bottom for support and to move forward against the rapidity of the current, we found ourselves on a plane higher than the rest of the waters to the left, right and behind us; this gave us a view as novel as it was picturesque. The rocks of this rapid are flat and rounded. Their composition is brown quartz, veined with gray and white.

The riverbanks are adorned with attractive farms located on low, fertile grounds, which are called *bottom lands*.[45] Within a short distance, the land rises into rocky, tree-covered heights. These plains in general are of little extent. They have kept the larger trees on the banks in order to defend them

from the ice, wood and rocks which the Mohawk sweeps down when it floods. The lands are very well cultivated.

We encountered next, nearly every mile, several small rapids, up until the farm of Nicolas Filet, who is from France originally. We set foot on land at his home. Saw from his house a waggon cross the river at the very spot where the rapids were, the water always being shallowest at this point.

On the shore one can always find quartz pebbles, others that are ferruginous; small marble rocks and some that are gypseous. We noticed not far from here some schists.

At two, we left the Filet residence and noticed, from this location onward, broader sections of bottom lands located alternately on each side of the river and covered with numerous farms.

At four, we got out to lessen the load for the boatmen, who had six rapids to get over in the course of the next mile. It was then that we observed more closely the excellent quality of these bottom lands. The farm where we landed, well built and nicely located, was paired with a small tannery, proof of its owner's industry. The plow, quite similar to the ones used in Normandy, was hitched to three horses side by side, and guided by a single man. The soil, richly sown, had the character of a true and very deep humus. On the bank, covered with beautiful trees, well preserved, we found some gorgeous *capillaire* already colored by autumn.[46] The inhabitants call it *Maiden's hair* (*cheveux de fille*), and they drink an infusion of it in lieu of tea. On several goldenrods, noticed an insect gall which was of a very considerable volume as compared to the plant. This insect gall, the size of a pigeon's egg, was violet colored and in perfect contrast to the tender green of the plant and the golden yellow of its flowers; and far from hampering its growth, from it several flowering stems emerged.

Two miles further, at a very attractive tenant farm, we saw cider being boiled in large pots. It is reduced over the fire to half its volume: barley, sassafras, *spruce tips* (*l'épinette du Canada*) and several other ingredients, which we could not identify, are mixed in. This cider, of which we tasted in a silver goblet containing at least a good-sized pint, was very pleasant. As foreigners, we were made to pay 6 pence a quart, whereas our boatmen, as Americans, only paid 3 pence. Without this preparation, their cider would not keep, as it is made with apples that are good for eating: with what in France is called *fruit à couteau*.

They are unacquainted with our species of sweet-sour apples, from which our excellent cider of Lower Normandy is made. The bitterness of the spruce and sassafras balances the acidity of the *reinette*,[47] of which it is mainly composed. A similar method could be used in the provinces of France where, for lack of suitable fruit, they make a very poor quality cider, quick to turn bitter and which only produces a sour, unhealthy drink instead of a salubrious one.

Beyond Schenectady, the majority of the inhabitants are originally from Holland and take great care to inform you that they are *Dutch* and not *English*.[48]

At five thirty, we re-embarked, and, after getting through two other rapids, not without difficulty, we stopped twelve miles from Schenectady at the home of Ysayos Swart.[49] It was eight in the evening, and landing there gave us much trouble, due to the many rocks just below the water's surface that blocked the river and that the darkness did not allow us to see clearly. In Albany, fortunately, we made the decision to furnish ourselves, each of us, with a mattress and a pair of blankets. We spread them near the fire in the one room of our inn. Without this precaution, a traveler runs the risk of sleeping on the floor almost every night. Moreover, the honest descendants of the Dutch who kept this house asked of us only 6 pence a person for the share of the milk and supper which they had furnished us.

4 October 1793 Left at seven in the morning. After having passed through several rapids, we had to get out, in spite of the rain, onto the beach in order to relieve our boatmen, and to walk painfully on the rocks about a mile. These rocks are for the most part granite and marble. Besides other kinds of stones, there is a very fine granite, striped with green, white and gray. These rapids are caused by the currents in the straits between the islands, and these islands are themselves formed at the mouths of the creeks[50] by the debris of rock and earth which these streams sweep into the Mohawk from the melting snows and spring floodings.

At nine, we observed on the right a long shore of limestone rock, cut almost vertically, like a fort wall, and perfectly leveled over long stretches. Our boatmen told us, in accordance with their tradition, that they were the walls constructed by the Spanish more than two hundred years earlier.[51] This popular error has for its cause the truly striking appearance of a construction cut in stone. Lime-kilns, which we saw a little further on, convinced us even more of the kind of rock.

At ten, we stopped to breakfast at *Isaya's inn* (*l'auberge d'Isaïe*). Much use is made of this place for crossing, as the river here above the rapid is fordable.

At this point, the nature of the rock changes and becomes schistous. The river bed, instead of rocks, offers exclusively an immense pavement of schists, which form on its banks something like the wide steps of a staircase. This section is four miles from our departure. The right bank is more elevated. The soil there up to surface level is composed of large schists. Some are broken by fissures which are from 2 to 12 and 15 inches wide, and of unknown depth. From these fissures spring evergreen trees and oaks that astonish, so that the very rock and empty space appear to be fertile. This forest is filled with squirrels. Re-embarked at 11. At one mile, we saw the house of Colonel Johnston, now a refugee in Long Sault in Canada.[52] Built of stone, this house, the most attractive that we have seen since Albany, has been defaced out of hatred for its owner, as were the fine orchard and plantations also. A fugitive, he was forced to abandon the house which he had constructed and the fields which he had cleared. The person who took from the Legislature the lease of

this house, converted it into a Tavern and earned enough to buy it when it and other goods confiscated from the Royalists were recently sold.

Further on, a fairly attractive house of stone belonging to M. Clotz.[53] It was burned by accident six months ago.

Then appears a charming residence, built regularly, with five windows on its front side: creek and small island in front. The property, belonging previously to Sir William Johnson, another *émigré* to Canada,[54] has been bought from the State by a Mr. Cuyler, a wealthy private citizen of Albany. The creek turns a flour-mill and a saw-mill, located near the residence.

From there up to Fort Hunter, where we arrived at 4 in the evening, lands always excellent. The fort's location is very picturesque. The islands, which the river continues to form, offer varied sites and beautiful views. Around six, we found the river to be encumbered with a large quantity of rocks strewn here and there in its bed, which formed three rapids in the course of a mile. Our boatmen had much trouble in getting over the first.

For Europeans who had not yet navigated in this fashion, this spectacle was impressive: for the place chosen for crossing the falls is always the place where the water, because there it is most abundant, plunges most violently; and when one gets on top, one appears to be hanging above a chasm. At times, about to reach the top, a lapse in teamwork in those who plant their poles (fitted with iron tips) between the split rocks, sends the batteau to the bottom of the torrent and makes them begin anew all the labor lost. After this fatiguing evening, our boatmen stopped at the home of Mr. Venables, *esquire* (*écuyer*), a title that the majority of Americans, in spite of their republicanism, adopt matter-of-factly. His station did not stop him from keeping an inn as the others did, although there was nothing to eat there, not even any bread or milk. No bed at all for us to sleep on. We had recourse to our provisions and our mattresses. The house, although so poorly furnished, was full of guests; among others, an American beauty, who was nimbly making the trip to Cooperstown on horseback and still had 80 miles to trot, of which 60 were through forest; and a good German named Christopher Lang, a tailor by trade and a resident of Fort Plain, who was very fond of French people, remembering that he had been well treated in Canada, where he learned to maim a few phrases of our language. The emotions of this good man, who got a little carried away by the quantity of *grog* (*boisson composé de rum et d'eau*) which he had drunk, prompted him to offer us his house and everything he owned: and he therefore thought he could also share in what we had and, edging up near us, bit by bit took possession of his friend Pharoux's mattress and made him sleep on the floor. Throughout this whole course, the Mohawk offers along its banks extremely fertile lands, hillsides further away, covered with trees, with some sections already cleared and some clearings begun.

We killed some *rouge-gorges*,[55] a bird larger than the sparrow; beak somewhat long; plumage mixed gray; feathers of a brownish red under the throat and belly. They feed on the berries of the *Philotana*.

5 October 1793 The next day, our venerable *esquire*[56] asked us for six shillings. On our pointing out to him that he had furnished us nothing, he solemnly replied: *but for the trouble* (*pour l'embarras que nous lui avions causé*). However, although visibly annoyed, he deigned to limit himself to 4 shillings. His ancient wife was not of this opinion, and shook her head so expressively, a pipe in a corner of her mouth, that Brunel could not keep from sketching her caricature right then and there: more than once it made us remember these kind hosts.

Breakfasted three miles from Venables. Our host, very surprised at seeing us make onion soup, blurted out that it was indeed true that all French people were cooks. He furnished us with tea, grilled pork, eggs and maple sugar, and charged a shilling per person.

From Venables, the river is unobstructed for six miles, up to a gorge in the mountains, one of which is baptized *Antony's Nose*; but this mountain does not resemble a nose as perfectly as does the *Antony's nose* on the North River. The lands are very fertile and the plains quite wide, up to the section where the mountains narrow. We disembarked at the base of Antony's Nose, where the *stage* (*voiture publique*) road has only the exact width needed to get by, and we went on foot to reach Spreaker's ferry and inn a mile further.[57] Our batteau had a contrary wind, which, blowing violently through the mountain gorge, made us wait a long time, as the great depth of the water does not allow one to get through except by rowing, and as there are, upon leaving this section, three strong rapids to get over before reaching the ferry. While waiting, we got some exercise by climbing a slope of limestone rock and marble, at the foot of which is Spreaker's house. We found there some rock crystal. Through the trees, we enjoyed the view of the river, plains and mountains on the opposite shore. At the water's edge, where the rapids are, many rocks strewn with broad flakes of cat's gold and silver.[58]

Around one-thirty we got back into the batteau. After stopping in different places to allow our boatmen to rest, we got out at a farm at half-past six, where we could find only some cider and milk. No bread at all, no meat, nor bed. In front of the door was a spring which the owner had levelled, and which came out through a pipe three feet above ground level. From this house, we had a view of Fort Plain and Canajohary, one of the most fertile and delightful areas of the Mohawk. It is there where the Schenectady stage stops and where the Whitestown stage is met. By land, one counts 40 miles from Canajohary to Schenectady. In this one day, we had done twelve miles by water.

6 October 1793 Left at 6 in the morning. For cider, milk and board, paid a shilling per person. After three miles, at the home of a young German, we breakfasted with milk soup, tea, eggs and grilled meat. From this spot, there being only 9 *miles* (*trois grandes lieues*) remaining to Little Falls, Pharoux and Brunel decided to go there on foot, along the left bank as one goes up. They were told to follow the main road. In the six miles of plain that they

crossed, they saw nothing but fertile lands, completely cleared. The road then rose into the woods, where they saw clearings, some finished and others begun, interspersed with land that was still wooded. Then they came upon the most beautiful trees that they had ever seen (types of oak, hornbeam and elm), the majority straight and very tall. In a rather steep mountain, where the road rises, they noticed beds of foliated slate, very thin and cut through to make the road. They passed over two creeks, over which bridges had been erected; the first one, rustic, made of tree trunks; the second, constructed of wood frame.

Not knowing the way to Little Falls, they followed the stage road and did nearly three miles more. Upon realizing this, they redescended through the woods towards the Mohawk along a path made of fascines in marshy sections;[59] between the natural rocks; on their right, they had an extremely steep granite rock covered with pine trees. One of these pine trees, knocked over by the winds, had continued to grow on a piece of rock in such a way that its roots were flattened perpendicularly to its trunk.

Met an Indian family. The father, loaded with a basket on his shoulders, was clothed in a kind of gray shirt with a belt. Pieces of red cloth covered his legs. His two children were holding bows and arrows. His wife, clothed in a short skirt, was carrying a basket full of skins and furs.

Soon after, Brunel and Pharoux crossed the Little Falls bridge and arrived at the home of Major de Zeng who, as inspector of canal works, is housed by the Company.

Desjardins, who stayed in the batteau to safeguard their belongings, continued the route by water. After three miles, they stopped at Hudson's Tavern, a site very well located, and the house set up rather well. From there, six miles to Little Falls. Several additional rapids near the Schuyler islands, and delightful view of a labyrinth of canals made by the river which winds its way among islands that are covered with flowers and variously shaded. Very good meadows, and lands excellent.

Three miles from Little Falls, the plain starts to narrow, up until a mile from the falls. Their proximity is announced by the riverbanks which suddenly steepen. Upon entering the detour of the mountain, you suddenly find yourself in the shadow between two slopes of perpendicular rocks crowned with evergreen trees. A little further, the rocks appear broken and torn into a thousand shapes. Two small islands of rock are in the middle of the current. You finally land at the foot of the fall, at the mouth of the projected canal. This spot presents a rustic scene, wild and romantic. It is very suitable for nourishing melancholy ideas of ruin, chaos and destruction. The water is quiet up to the foot of the fall, which is a succession of different rapids, so that its noise is not as loud as that made by waterfalls that cascade in sheets and can only be heard up close, unless the wind is favorable.

Desjardins had the boatmen transport the belongings to the home of Mr. de Zeng, whose residence is a half-mile from the landing. This house, as

well as most of those built in this area, has been constructed at the canal company's expense. Mr. de Zeng had been waiting two days for us. Desjardins, worried at not finding his traveling companions already there, was sitting down to table when they walked in. After we had rested, we had the batteau transported above the falls via the portage made on the other side. The cart, made of two wheel-trains and a wooden beam the length of the batteau, was drawn by four oxen. As our boatmen did not want to undertake the trip to Lake Ontario, we paid them for the trip out and back at the rate of 5 shillings per day. Finally, we delivered to Mr. de Zeng one hundred piastres as an advance for travel expenses. Had supper and slept in the house of our conductor.

7 October 1793 *Little Falls* (*petites chûtes*) takes its name from the cascades which are made in this location by the Mohawk. They are very small compared to the fine fall at the Cohoes, over which it plunges down almost vertically from a height of 66 feet, 12 miles from Albany and 6 miles from its mouth in the North River. Here, the Mohawk is squeezed between two mountains of rock, where it has cut a passage here by its falling and there by its dividing itself between rocks, most of which are smoothed and formed into funnel-like shapes from the rushing water. These different falls and rapids are reckoned at approximately 40 to 45 feet within a course of more than one hundred *toises*.[60]

A wooden bridge, showing light and rather good work, has been erected over these falls: it has a single vault, with several bays and chords, and is constructed above the current and the rocks, which, now exposed, are covered up by the rising water and floods of springtime.

They are now working on digging a canal to facilitate the navigation of the Mohawk and to lower the portage costs, which are a half-piastre for a vehicle which carries somewhat less than a thousand-weight. This canal has been undertaken by an incorporated company, the president of which is General Schuyler: he has made the plans for the works.[61] Major de Zeng being the inspector and store-keeper, the office is located in his house.

Mr. Porteous, to whom we delivered our letters of recommendation, is at the head of the company of the owners of the Concession. He has built here a very fine flour mill, with four pair of grinding stones, a mill with two saws for planks, and a fulling mill, besides a *store* (*magasin de marchandises*), very well stocked. He is in the business of flours, etc. The English house Ellis of Montreal is among the Associates; through this connection (this establishment having been burned down by Indians in the War of Independence), the English associates obtained from the Parliament such a generous indemnity that it enabled them to rebuild everything ten times better than it was. Mr. Porteous, in his circumscribed sphere, following the English dictum of appropriating all trade, sells land only on the express condition that no store shall be built.

It has been only ten months since they began the clear-cutting and canal works: considering this short time, they are well along. Mr. de Zeng assured us that the locks and all related construction would be finished by the end of September 1794. We hope that he is not mistaken.

Mr. de Zeng had chosen for us a chief boatman, a German, named Simon, at five shillings per day; and for rowers, two *Yankees* (*habitants de la Nouvelle Angleterre*), at the rate of four shillings each.

Our visit to Mr. Porteous over and our belongings carried on board, we left around noon. After two miles, rapids are again encountered, and one enjoys a very pleasant view. This fertile countryside is called *German's flats* (*les plaines Allemandes*). After five miles, you can see the city, the church and the *courthouse*,[62] lying at a rather great distance. In this area, the Mohawk forms an elbow and rapids which are very rough due to their lack of depth, the river here being very wide and flat. These rapids are created by the rocks and stones which the great Canada Creek sweeps along through its two mouths in the Mohawk. We had to get out and go a mile on foot up to Fort Herkimer. Our boatmen got into the water and by sheer strength of arm hauled the boat over the rocks and gravel.

During this time, we went off to look at these forts. One is hexagonal and the other square. They are constructed with beams assembled one on top of another. In the first is a 12 pound cannon, on the first floor, with embrasures in order to aim it in every direction. On the ground floor and the upper floor, which extends outward, are loopholes. The roof is finished off with a lantern that was used as a look-out.[63] A moat, half-filled in, surrounds it. The second was arranged in the same way on the interior. In the War of Independence, these forts, located on a hill, served to defend the German colonists from the Anglo-Indian scouts. There we found for sole garrison a few peaceable sheep who had come to seek shelter from the heat: felicitous symbol of the peace which this fertile and attractive region now enjoys.

Above the mouth of Canada Creek, the river forms many meanderings and several small rapids. We stopped to sleep 12 miles from Little Falls at the home of Mr. Texter.

Tuesday, 8 October Left at 7. We found the river to be more winding, easier to navigate, less encumbered by rapids and narrower. This area is beginning to be cleared: the further one goes, the more the Mohawk shrinks and becomes winding. Its shores are covered with trees that bend over to form a bower, so that the shade cast on our boats is very pleasant, and we seem to be in a garden.

The maples, elms, hornbeams, etc. astonish you with their height. A European would have trouble imagining the majesty of these ancient trees, children of nature, and which no iron has ever mutilated: but the farmer is little touched by these natural beauties. Fire and axe will soon destroy these centuries-old creations. In one area, you see all the trees stripped of their bark

at the base of their trunks, an easy means of making them perish. Elsewhere, fire is applied. These immense forests are interspersed with clearings, some finished and sown, others begun: but which offer however images of destruction. These trees, cut down with the axe, are heaped up into piles, while waiting for them to become dry enough to be set on fire and their ashes converted into potash. Most of the clearings cannot be seen from the Mohawk, as they were begun along the main road, which traverses these lands at some distance inland. Several piles of trees, dragged by the rising waters and caught in the river bottom, block navigation in several places.

At two-thirty, we passed under the bridge of Old Fort Schuyler.[64] Made of a single wooden span, this bridge has bent, and a stay has been placed under its middle, which failed from its lacking appropriate supports and trusses. It is constructed in the manner of the one at Little Falls. The river bottom is sand and gravel. We breakfasted and dined in the batteau to save time, and after having completed around 24 miles in our day, we decided, as night approached, to sleep in the open forest: accordingly, we got out and pitched our tent for the first time. Once the fire was lit, our beds were soon made, and our packs served us as convenient seats. Having prepared the meals for that evening and for the next day, we supped frugally and slept, from nine until six in the morning, as well as we would have in our best European beds.

Wednesday, 9 October After packing up our baggage, left at half-past 6. There was a very thick fog. Everywhere, land good and plant growth superb. We notice that in the new clearings, in order to avoid the bother of sawing the wood, they throw anything within reach into the river: this causes many obstructions.

Around two miles from our departure, we passed under the White'stown bridge, which is being completed. This bridge is constructed of wood, with chords and trusses above, and perpendicular supports.

The two causeways which serve as its abutment are also of heavy wood and are raised above the high water level. The area on the left bank from Fort Schuyler, is called *White'stown*, after a Mr. White who was the first to settle in these woods, eight years ago.[65] 600 houses can be counted there now. After about eleven and a half miles, at the mouth of the Oriskany Creek, a small, pretty river, we took a rest next to two batteaux which had halted. One was carrying a family from New England, which was going to settle at Niagara, on English territory, where according to what they said, nearly four thousand farmers were already settled. The other boat was occupied by a family from Jersey going to Kingston, formerly Fort Frontenac, at the entrance to the Saint Lawrence River where, we were assured, there were even more settlements.

Seeing Americans emigrate to English territory seemed very strange to us. We learned, with no less surprise, that this very year, six hundred families, each with its batteau, had taken the same route. Their ostensible reason is

that there is not enough room in their own country, that the lands there are exhausted, that new lands are too expensive there; whereas in Canada, they are being given away *gratis*. And so, a people who for seven years supported a civil war in order to shake off England's yoke, are leaving their happy and flourishing homeland to beg for lands from the hand of the one whom they cast out with horror, and to put themselves once again under his dominion. *Something for the preceptors of mankind to reflect upon!*—Our Major de Zeng, who does not try to pass as a philosopher, started a quarrel with the people from Jersey and after a few words in a menacing tone raised his axe against them; but seeing that they were not in the least intimidated, he quietly put it back in its place.

We had breakfast on the riverbank, eating with a very hearty appetite the fat pork and peas from the day before. Re-embarked, we found the river to be more and more obstructed by the cast-away wood. It was fortunate that the two batteaux, which had left before us, had made an opening for themselves, axe in hand, and we often took advantage of the channel they left behind. We were finally obliged to set foot on land to lighten the batteau, but the land was even less manageable than the river. We all got out of the boat and into the water. Brunel and Mr. de Zeng helped to drag and lift the boat onto the rapids. Pharoux and Desjardins reached the riverbank, but the path through the woods proved to be very difficult. Enormous trees, fallen across each other; others half consumed with age and into which you sink, thinking that you can step on them; numerous plants and tall grasses which bind your legs, springs and marshes into which one softly sinks, etc. The most unpleasant part is the piles of felled trees from the new clearings. Trees lying on the ground and heaped on top of each other, the branches of one tree entangled with the trunks of another, present you with a front that is nearly impossible to climb over, and these tree piles are sometimes one and two hundred *toises* in length.

As if this were not enough, we had to cross a creek. As there did not appear to be much water, Pharoux undertook to walk through it: he soon sank in up to his waist, and if he had not caught hold of a tree within his reach and succeeded in clambering onto it, he could have remained stuck even deeper in the sludge until someone came to his rescue. Desjardins, a witness to this crossing, did not deem it opportune to follow in his footsteps, and called out to the batteau which, having picked up Pharoux, came to get him at the mouth of the creek, where he managed to re-embark, not without some difficulty, and cured of any curiosity for traveling through the woods without road or path.

At sunset, we got out on the right bank, in a woods, terrain somewhat elevated. Cooking and meal of the most bucolic sort. After getting ourselves dried off, cleaned up and well warmed, we slept under the tent.

Thursday, 10 October 1793 Embarked at 6. One mile from our departure, Pharoux and Brunel got out to lighten the boat, Mr. de Zeng assuring

them that the terrain was better and giving them directions for it. In effect, after walking a mile, they found the road to Fort Stanwix, where they arrived soon after. Desjardins remained in the batteau. The river becomes more and more winding, all the while diminishing in width and depth. Between the *lower* and *upper landing* of Fort Stanwix, the distance is one-half mile by land and two miles by water. In several places, the boatmen were obliged to chop out with the axe a path through trees floating or stuck in the mud. Finally, around ten, we met up with each other at Fort Stanwix. As for the two batteaux to Canada which had gone on ahead of us, they were drawn out of the water by oxen and loaded onto a double train held by a beam adapted to the batteau's length, and then carried in this simple set-up to the shore of Wood Creek. While waiting for the waggoners to return, we had breakfast at the edge of the landing on the grass.

The portage between the Mohawk and Wood Creek is a mile and quarter. It is worth noting that the waters of Wood Creek and the waters of the Mohawk (the former, through Oneida, flow to Lake Ontario and the Saint Lawrence River; the latter flow to the North River), have between them only a short, almost level stretch of land, as Wood Creek is only two feet lower. A canal is therefore being planned to join these two rivers, or rather streams; and it is the same company from Little Falls, under the name of the Western Inland Navigation Company. The price of the portage is the same as at Little Falls.

When the vehicles returned, we had our batteau loaded onto a train, and our belongings onto a waggon, which we follow on foot. The route is easy going. On the right one leaves Fort Stanwix, which cost the English 60,000 pounds sterling to raise as a barrier against the French from Canada.[66] When the Americans seized it during the War of Independence, the English, allied with the Indians, came to besiege it; but a sudden panic made them raise the siege, as they believed that General Schuyler was about to fall upon them, although he had remained in Albany.[67] Mr. Ganswoorth of Albany, an American general, defended this post, which then was in good condition and today nearly in ruins.[68] This spot is, however, one of the best situated for building a storage arsenal for Congress. Fort Stanwix's elevation comes entirely from the earth carried here: this certainly contributed to the fort's cost, enormous for its modest size.

We pitched our tent at the landing pier of Wood Creek, at this time nearly dry. We could not leave right away, and we had to wait for the water from a mill located a quarter mile upstream, water that the miller releases only against his will, to the great detriment of travelers. This mill is to be eliminated when the plan is executed. Clearings were being made in the area in which we camped. After having stripped the bark from the trees as early as last year, they cut them down. All the under-wood and branches from the larger trees are collected into piles and burned. The trunks are sawn into logs 14 feet long, some to make *fences* (*clôtures*) around the clearings, some to be

sawn into planks, some to be used to construct *loghouses* (*maisons de tronc d'arbres couchés les uns sur les autres*). All the trees that are not healthy, as well as the others which are dry or useless, are collected to be burned too. They gather up the ashes with care, which they sell, according to their quality, from six pence to a shilling the bushel. An acre of a good growth of wood produces 3 to 4 piastres of ash and costs 8 piastres to clear at this time.

This night, we saw a rather unique spectacle. Several trees, hollow and unsound, were burning at their tops and appeared to be enormous torches; others, being set ablaze along their trunks, formed columns of fire; piles of flaming branches provided, finally, the background for this view. In the glimmering of all of these fires, this whole illumined scene—five tents on as many batteaux that were to leave next morning; the batteaux aground in Wood Creek; the carts for the portage; the herd from the farm, its buildings consisting of loghouses; the baggage partly scattered about; the camp hearths around which each group was making their supper—offers us a tableau, seen from inside our tent, as novel as it is picturesque.

Friday, 11 October The flotilla of batteaux was able to leave only around nine. As the miller had held back the water, the men went there in a body and made him release it. In spite of this momentary help, the water was still so low that Pharoux and Desjardins decided to continue by land up to the mouth of the little Canada Creek where, given the junction of the two currents, the boat would have enough to float.

The distance is seven miles between the portage and Captain Reynis's inn, built at the junction of the two creeks. We crossed the bridge over the sluice-gates of the mill which had so delayed us, and we found the route to be very bad, although the causeway in the marshy parts had been constructed out of tree logs laid crosswise and next to each other. As these *causeways*[69] have been neither maintained nor repaired, the path gives way in many spots, and even on foot one has a great deal of trouble in getting oneself out.

We arrived at Captain Reynis's inn at noon: it is quite nice, and we found there several travelers.[70]

Wood Creek owes its name to the quantity of wood with which it was encumbered. The Canal Company has had it cleaned out up to this junction. In spite of this repair work, our batteau was only able to join up with us at half-past four in the evening, our men so tired that we could not think of going further. We therefore pitched our tent at the mouth of little Canada Creek, which forms the boundary of the Rosewelt patent, itself extending from this point up to Lake Ontario and the Constable purchase.[71]

We dined and had supper in this inn, which was surrounded by woods, a section of which is newly cleared. In the afternoon, Pharoux and Brunel explored the woods, planning to hunt; but they encountered no game. Everywhere a frightening loneliness. At times, you are stopped by impassable *swamps* (*marais*); at times, by heaps of trees uprooted by storms or fallen

from age, and in the midst of which an infinite number of insects and numerous squirrels find shelter. Everywhere, tree skeletons covered with moss and in different stages of decomposition. From these decomposed trunks rise maidenhair ferns and other plants and shrubs, and offer you images of both life and death.

Saturday, 12 October 1793 Left at seven in the morning. We unloaded a portion of our belongings into an empty batteau which belongs to the contractor who is to clear Wood Creek: this contractor was going down to meet up with his workers. The beginning of our route was still difficult because of the low water level, and the trees stuck in the mud. The creek has such little width that the branches of the trees on each bank touch each other. No clearings, neither on the right nor on the left. Except for several paths made by Indians through the woods, there is neither road nor way by land beyond the Canada Creek, the course of which is very winding and the banks little elevated. Mr. Scriba, one of the owners of the Rosewelt patent, is currently having a road opened from Canada Creek to New-Roterdam, a settlement which he has created on Lake Oneida.[72]

Along the creek, one sees wood piled up by the men working to clear it out. They cut the larger trunks into eight to ten-foot billets and get them to float into areas where the higher waters are to carry them into Lake Oneida. These workers have the remainder pushed back into the bends of the creek which are meant to be filled once the channels cut to straighten the canal become practicable. The river bed is made of angular pebbles, very little rounded.

Two miles from our departure, the Black Creek joins its waters, which now flow over a bed of pebbles. This creek is abundant in the springtime. De Zeng had us observe that as the higher elevation of land at Fort Stanwix creates the dividing line of the waters, it is the east wind that brings the rain in this part of the State, up to the lake; while along the Mohawk and up to the Atlantic Ocean, it is the west wind.

The trees leaning out over the river have been cut down: this clears it and facilitates navigation. On our left, the lands are the reserve of the Oneida Indians; on the right, the Rosewelt patent. After the Black Creek, the bottom is fine sand, and the low banks offer terrain suitable to be converted into meadows.

Four miles from our departure, we arrived at the first cutting; very narrow trench: sandy terrain, no embankment. We were told that when the waters rise, the river would in fact be able to clear its own path and finish the work on its own. While waiting for their unfinished work to be completed by Nature and her all-powerful hand, more active than that of the Americans, we had much trouble passing through this so-called canal, justifiably afraid of the sides caving in, which could bury our batteau in an instant. Not far from there, we encountered the contractor's men and oxen busy dragging from the creek trees stuck in the mud. Quite a few still remained in the section already

cleared up: the work of clearing these out they were also leaving to future flood waters, most likely. If the contractor had used a winch, or even a cable with pulleys stroped to the trees on the riverbank, three times the amount of work would have been accomplished, in less time; but mechanical means are not used; everything is done with men or animals, they are even unacquainted with ladders, still less so with cranes, etc.

This first trench shortens by a half-mile. Eight miles further, another trench worked in the same fashion, shortens by ¾ mile. A little before, on the left, is a terrain called the White Oaks Orchard. A mile further, a third trench shortens by ½ mile. No work being done in the portion of the river meant to be filled in. The fourth cut shortens by ¾ mile. Its bed is already encumbered by falling trees and sands; but, according to them, all that will be swept away with the high water. The fifth cut again shortens by a half mile. The former river bed is filled in with wood. The sixth cut is not yet filled with water; it will shorten by a mile: it has a three foot depth in clayey earth and two feet in sand below. The seventh cut, filled with water and already encumbered for the same reasons, shortens by a half-mile. The eighth cut, finished for six months, has been greatly widened by the waters: it shortens by a half-mile, and it was this experience which led the contractor not to take more trouble in the execution. We passed the ninth trench, which shortens by a half-mile. Sandy terrain; the bed of clay and tree debris. The tenth, very short, shortens by a quarter mile: the land good. The eleventh, terrain of sand and bed of clay: it is very short and shortens by ¼ mile. The twelfth branch, cut through humus and sandy earth below, is only five *toises* long, yet it shortens by ⅝ miles. The thirteenth and last cutting, already much widened by nature, is around ten *toises*, and shortens by a third of a mile.

These thirteen cuts will shorten the navigation by about seven and a half miles; but it is to be feared that the water, less restrained by these detours, may flow more rapidly and provide even less depth.

Upon leaving these trenches, we saw a very large wooden boat belonging to the contractor. He had constructed it on the Seneca River and had taken advantage of the higher waters to conduct it, with all of his instruments and provisions, up to this point. That gave us an idea of the enterprising spirit of the Americans, who are so sure of themselves. His boat did indeed arrive; but he must wait for the assistance of the higher waters next year in order to be able to bring it back.

Here, we left the contractor behind and again loaded up our boat. The more we advanced, the more the river widened and took on depth. Around four miles after the last cut, we entered Fish Creek, although up to the Lake custom has kept the name Wood Creek. Fish Creek, far and away the larger of the two, ought not allow itself to be stripped of its name by a mere stream, the only title which before this junction Wood Creek deserves.

At this season, we found the river to be very wide and very deep. The lands here are low and wet. As the west wind was prevailing, we heard the sound of the waves of the lake. Near the mouth, on the left, on the Indian lands, we

saw the site of the royal fort, a log fort which the French constructed in order to close to the English the passage into the Oneida and keep the Iroquois in check.[73] We did go up to the mouth in the Lake; but sunset and the choppy waves made us go back to the Royal block house, the only elevated site in this canton, and we camped there. Other than moats, which were nearly filled in, we discovered no other traces of the fort.

Sunday, 13 October At sun-rise, we resolved to leave, the northwest wind, although still against us, calming down somewhat after blowing violently all night. The four other batteaux, which had halted on the low point of the river's mouth, decided to follow when they saw us pass.

This lake is only nine miles wide by twenty-one miles long, but it seemed an ocean to our boatmen, whom the roughness of the waves, still choppy, frightened a bit. We reassured them as best we could, and we had much trouble convincing them to sail onto the open Lake and to aim for a point called Nine Mile Point, which would shorten our crossing by a good third.

The view from the Lake entrance is admirable. Its width being only three leagues, the immense forests that cover the south and north shores can be seen. To the west, tall mountains rise above the shore. On the east, the shores that form the Lake entrance are low and sandy. At this same entrance, there is a wide sand bar on which the lake breaks violently when it is rough. The channel, which is shifting, is at the moment only 3 or 4 feet deep. The winds from the great lakes, west and north-west, being the most frequent, navigation is much easier coming back than going up. The landing areas are very low and nearly everywhere have a very gradual slope: this makes landing difficult.

At about eight in the morning we entered the lake. At 500 *toises* of distance from the north shore, and a little before the second point, is a large sand bank. The bottom and the shore of the lake are generally of stones. We strayed from our course to kill a bear, which Major de Zeng claimed was swimming across the lake. As we got nearer, we recognized that the bear was a tree stuck in the mud: its black trunk glimmered from the sun's rays on the surface of the water. About 11 miles from the entrance, after 4 and a half hours of rowing, we found three islands of sand, reeds and stones, in the midst of which numerous aquatic birds come to lay their eggs, as in places of safety. These islands are beyond Nine Mile Point. From this spot, one can see the entire contour of the Lake. Opposite the first two islands of sand, the first loghouse established in Rosewelt is visible in the angle of a point, with several clearings around it. About 16 miles from our departure, we saw some other clearings begun at the settlement of M. Desvatines, a Frenchman, who, like another Robinson, had come to settle two years ago on an island in the middle of the Lake, with his wife, his children and his small library.[74] As the State had sold these lands to the Rosewelt company, M. Desvatines was dispossessed, and Mr. Scriba gave him a plot of land in his settlement on the edge of the Lake.

Right near there is the future New-Roterdam.[75] At the moment, it consists of three loghouses at the mouth of Scriba Creek, the entrance of which is difficult. Pharoux, intending to lighten the batteau, almost broke his leg when he jumped out onto a pile of stones. There is also a saw-mill on the Creek. We stopped at Roterdam, where de Zeng had some business, and, after having supper with Mr. Scriba's men, we slept there.

At ten in the evening, we were awakened by the arrival of Mr. Vanderkemp, a Dutch minister, one of the leaders of the 1787 Revolution against the Statouder; a revolution which, secretly encouraged by France, was then abandoned to Prussian arms, as the deplorable state of our finances had rendered the King unable to undertake a war which would have become a major one, since England as well as Prussia were siding with the Statouder.[76] The leaders of this failed revolution took refuge, most of them, in America, where they have formed a Society and bought more than a million acres in the states of New York and Pennsylvania. Mr. Vanderkemp decided upon Oneida Lake, and was returning by canoe from searching for a site where he could find stone for the building which he counted on making in the spring. He speaks some French and welcomed us. We were unable to see our compatriot M. Desvatines: he had gone on an errand among the Indians, and we put off this visit until our return. At Roterdam, nearly all the inhabitants had fevers. The lake's lack of depth, the immense quantity of fish, with which the lake is swollen, and which, in the low waters and high heat, suffocate and drift onto these marshy shores to decompose, give off putrid and fever-inducing vapors.

Monday, 14 October 1793 At half-past 6, we left New-Roterdam, the weather good. After a half-hour of walking, we found ourselves level with the island, which had been partly cleared by M. Desvatines. There are two islands, one of thirty acres and the other around forty. The soil on these islands is excellent; they are tree-covered and form a charming scene in the lake. The site is a very desirable one, and our compatriot had made a very good choice. The lake is still of very little depth, unless one moves away from the shore. Its grass and reed-filled shores have in many places two feet of water, at most. Before the two Desvatines islands, one sees another one, low, perfectly round, and having a single tree in its middle.

On the opposite bank of the Lake is the mouth of the Canaseroga, a quite large river, which separates the territory which the Oneida have reserved for themselves from the lands which they have sold to the State. This shore is more elevated, and the soil here is excellent.

From the Desvatines island, one sees the outlet for the lake at the site of Fort Browington, which the English had constructed to defend the channel there, as in this spot the west winds, pushing back the lake waters, have formed a very wide bar which forces any passing batteaux to go close by the site of the fort. This channel is about 8 miles from New-Roterdam. There was

then very little water, and we had difficulty in going out of the lake and entering the Onnondago River. This bar is formed of pebbles. A loghouse today replaces the fort, and the tenant has gathered rocks and piled up stones to form a large triangle which blocks almost the entire river. At the end of this triangle is an opening where an oblong wicker basket is set. This is what they consider here an eel weir. These constructions block up the rivers and do much harm to navigation. They are forbidden: but there is no one to enforce the laws in these deserted areas.

We got out at this loghouse where, after breakfast, we saw a mill built in the Indian manner. It consists of a tree-trunk, hollowed out in the shape of mortar, and the pestle is suspended by means of a pole, which also operates as a counterweight. By means of this simple mechanism, a person can effortlessly put it in motion and pound maize. The greenhouse for the maize and *pumpkins*,[77] a kind of small Indian *citrouille*, was no less simple. It consists of a rectangle, made of poles as large as an arm: these are built up one upon the other, up to a height of 2 to 3 feet. As the ends of these long poles are set at either end on smaller ones, there is an inch of empty space between them. They throw the maize and pumpkins into this rectangle; then with wide-set strips of bark they cover over everything. The snow adds a final layer of cover. By means of this, their seeds have air, do not spoil, and are more out of reach of squirrels, etc. than if they had been shut up in granaries, which moreover they do not have.

The Onnondago River is about as wide as the Seine in Paris, but it has no more depth than the Mohawk. Bars of pebbles impede navigation. In several spots, one encounters rapids which are hard to get over, especially a dyke of pebbles made by the Indians to make an eel trap. On the right, you see cabins that serve as their shelter in the fishing season. They are built of poles supported by forked stakes, and covered and trimmed with bark.

From eleven to noon, we endured a rather strong hail. The lands on the right, which are dependencies of Rosewelt, are low and flooded; the trees sparse: these lands will be suitable for scarcely nothing other than pasture. Those on the left, which are dependencies of the military tracts, are more or less of the same type. The river bed shows pebbles angular and pierced, somewhat like a *meulière*.[78] The Onnondago is full of fish. The sections of land which are a little more elevated are sandy and covered only with pines and other evergreen trees, indicating poor soil.

At sun-set, we landed on the right bank near a small mound where some trees had already been burned. To make room for our tents, we cut the brush which had already grown back. Behind the height, at the bottom of which we were encamped, is a small valley and other heights. Our men caught some *catfish* (*poisson chat*), called this from the long barbs, like whiskers, that are on its mouth. Its two fins are armed with a spine which they extend or draw in at will. This fish, named the *mal* in the ichthyology of the *Encyclopédie*, becomes very large in the lakes.[79] Here, it has an average size weighing from

3 to 6 pounds. The fish is very delicate, fatty, its taste similar to carp and eel. We also caught some tench, perch and suckers, a kind of carp. In two hours and using only two lines we caught eighteen fish. In all, we made an excellent supper at the river's expense.

Tuesday, 15 October Left at seven. The river still has some rapids. Bed of small pebbles: the banks trimmed with rushes, aquatic plants, valerian, goldenrod and asters, the flowers of which were still creating a very beautiful effect. Lands low on the shores, but rising immediately into hills.

Around eight miles from the departure, an island, rather large and covered with trees. A little further, at the mouth of the Seneca River, one sees a clearing with a good loghouse of timbers squared and assembled dovetail-fashion. We breakfasted there. Major Bingham is the owner.[80] Here we hired a pilot in order to get through the rapids, which are somewhat dangerous when one does not know the actual channel. The Seneca river is the water-route which leads to the Genesee and all the lands in the west, which are now becoming populated. Water traffic is very dense on it, given the fact that it is connected to five large lakes through Seneca Lake, rather near the Genesee River. It is also by it that all the shipments of salts from Lake Onnondago go down. This place is called Three Rivers, even though there are only two: but at the junction of the Seneca, the Onnondago loses its name, and the two rivers, joined together, take the name Oswego.

Soon after our departure, we noticed a female bear and its two cubs which were crossing the river. We rowed hard to try to reach them. Three of us got out with axes and rifles, but the effort met with no success.

The river is in this spot very wide. We then went down a large rapid where the current's strength propels the batteaux with violence. Not far from there one has to go through a second rapid between two rows of pebbles, gathered and arranged by the Indians for an eel trap. One emerges through the very narrow opening at the point, where the water rushes through channeled and fast. On the right, on the riverbank, we noticed the fishing cabins of the Indians. They set their nets at the opening of the channel, where they take thousands of fish which come back up from the lake, or go down to it, in the two fishing seasons.

A little further is a third rapid, but not more difficult than those on the Mohawk—after this our pilot left us. One can see in the bottom of the water small mounds of tiny stones which are perfectly round, and in large quantity. This is the industrious operation of the sucker fish, which thereby keeps its eggs safe against the attacks of its enemies, the eels and pikes. Between the two large rapids above, the river bed is paved with a rock mass of a single level. Further on, the river divides and forms a very attractive island. On the left, several creeks fall into the river. Near one of these creeks, we saw an Indian family: they had some bear skins stretched out on frames near their cabin. On the riverbank lay a bark canoe. Weather was cloudy all day, with

hail around nine in the morning. At sun-set, having pitched our tent on the right bank, we noticed a fire in the distance and we heard a cow-bell: from this we judged that already in this remote area settlements were being formed.

Wednesday, 16. 8. 1793 Left at half-past 6. Immediately on the right is seen an island and, on the left, two settlements; and we could see the Oswego Falls, which is about eight feet high. Up to the edge of the precipice, the water is quiet, as in a basin, and the current here is nearly unnoticeable: this makes it easy to disembark close to it, on the right, where the portage house is, next to a second house. On the left is a house on the top of the shore, surrounded by clearings.

The river, very wide above these perpendicular falls, flows over a perfectly level bed of stone, and it forms different sheets according to the irregularity of the curves and breaks in the upper bed, from which it falls with a loud noise, dragging pieces of rock into the lower part, where the river rushes along with this debris, and this forms a series of rapids. The most considerable one, and the one which has the most water, is in the curve which it makes on the right.

On this same side, we noticed a narrow channel cut into the rock: this, we were told, was the remains of a canal planned at the time the French were here, but which we recognized to have been dug out only for the operation of a mill, when the French had a fortified post on the upper part of the shore, the remains of which can still be seen. This fort controlled the passage and closed it off to the canoes of the Iroquois, who, when appealed to by the English in time of war, took this route to overrun our settlements.

The batteaux are made to slide on rollers for a distance of about 60 *toises*, to the foot of the falls, from which point they are conducted, empty, through the rapids for about a mile. The cargo is loaded onto waggons and conducted by a route along the shore, for the same distance, to where they are again loaded on board. The price of the portage is four shillings, as in the other places.

We made the portage on foot. After the mountain at the falls, the land is average. This area is, however, cleared, and there was another loghouse at the place of re-embarkment. There we met up again with the four batteaux going to Canada which we had encountered earlier. Here the river is very wide, and from here to the Lake, forms some very difficult rapids, which again obliged us to hire a pilot. We met Major Bingham, at whose home we had breakfasted at Three Rivers, and he willingly offered to conduct us for a piastre. A major dressed in rough cloth and piloting for a piastre made us aware of the importance of this rank in America.

The view of the river is very attractive. It is strewn with several islands of a truly romantic appearance. The shores are low and within a short distance rise into hills. Further on, and in proportion as one approaches the Lake, the shores grow more elevated, and large rapids present themselves. Our pilot-

major got us through very ably, except for one, which is named because of its difficulty the *Devil's Course*, where we were stopped on the rocks: but our *major*, just as intrepid in water as under fire, lept into the river, and, getting our three men to do the same by his example, managed with great effort and strength of shoulder to lift us, to get over the bank of rocks, and to put us back into the channel.

To see the 4 other batteaux—two of which got through successfully and two struggled against the obstacles as we had—and the water plunging and foaming against the rocks was rather impressive. As for any peril, only the boat is at risk of being damaged, as the lack of depth, which is the cause of all the difficulty, shields people from danger.

About two miles further, we got out on the left to lighten the boat, given the river's lack of depth, which is caused by its extreme width at this spot. The shores of the two banks are here made of a kind of sandstone mixed with clay, arranged in horizontal beds and layered with gray and brown colors alternately. One can see far in the distance the lake and Fort Ontario, now called Oswego. This fort, built by the French on the shore on the right, is now occupied by the English, who have abandoned their own fort on the left bank, less advantageously situated, the ruins of which can be seen. The soil which we crossed over is rocky and sterile. The trees there are of poor growth.

We got back into our batteau as we drew near the fort, at the foot of which we went to disembark. Immediately, the English inspector came to investigate to see if there was any merchandise, trade with Canada being forbidden. But finding nothing, he withdrew, and Major de Zeng went up to the fort alone to obtain from the governor permission to pass, which he was convinced he would obtain as the commandant, Captain Shroeder, was Hessian, like himself, and as he had a letter of recommendation from his friend Mr. Porteous.[81] Meanwhile, in order to win over for us the good will of the garrison, Major Bingham did them the honor of making ample offer of our rum, and with his former enemies drank cordially.

We passed the time in walking around and examining the fort. The ruins of several houses proved to us that this place had formed a small village at the time of the French. The terrain is thoroughly sterile. We also saw some ripsaws, with which the soldiers were kept busy making planks. On both sides of the two banks, all the woods are destroyed, having been consumed for heating, so that another of the garrison's occupations is to go cut wood on the shores of the lake at a distance and to bring it back in large batteaux, which we glimpsed in a cove which the river makes at the foot of the fort. In spite of these occupations and the diversions of hunting and fishing, the garrison gets deadly bored. No one to see in this remote area, and winter being very rigorous to spend on an isolated mountain exposed to every wind. The garrison is relieved every year in May, half of whom have already deserted. The majority of these soldiers are German or Scottish. They told us

that they were almost all Catholics, and that they get very bored. The fort is a polygon with four sides. On one of the bastions is built the fort properly so called. The rest is simply a lawn with stockade. This post maintains a complete dominion over the Lake and the mouth of the Oswego, which is narrowed and makes a cove or natural port on each side. There are canons only on the bastion at the point, and this fort could be taken by a raid.

On seeing the commandant come out with Mr. de Zeng, we got back into our boat, fearing that our observing might be misinterpreted. Mr. de Zeng got to us first to warn us that he had told the Commandant that he was bringing Pharoux to see some lands that he wished to sell; that Brunel was Pharoux's secretary; and Desjardins, a servant: all to raise less suspicion. We criticized him for not having quite simply told the truth: however, we had to make it seem that we were not denying his word. Accordingly, Pharoux stepped forward by himself towards the commandant, who stated in a haughty tone that he was astonished that any French should dare approach an English fort; that it was up to him and to no other person whether or not to send us off to Quebec as prisoners; and that his orders were to allow no French person to pass into Canada.

Pharoux answered him that, although French, we believed it possible to proceed on the territory of the Americans, our allies; that we had no intention of going to Canada but to the Black River, which belongs to the State of New York, as does the region of Oswego, where we were; that, moreover, he could see easily that we were not coming with hostile intent, being only three persons and having no other arms than hunting-rifles; finally, that there was no reason to take umbrage at our trip. The commandant, having thus paraded himself before the soldiers of the garrison, went solemnly back up to his fort, followed by Major de Zeng, who continued his appeals for the passport. Several moments later, we were informed that we had to go and camp on the other side of the water, as French persons could not remain so near the fort. Being only three against sixty others who were well-entrenched, we obeyed. Major de Zeng sent a message that he was hopeful of obtaining our passport.

We crossed therefore to the other side, and we pitched our tent at the foot of the remains of some fireplaces, among the broken-down homes of the former habitations. We had much trouble in gathering some wood to burn during the night. The four other batteaux, having received their passports immediately, had camped before us and picked up all the wood scattered on the shore. The night was very cold. Major de Zeng came back some time afterward to tell us that the governor had finally granted the passport, but only for us two; and on condition that Brunel stay as a hostage until our return, as a guarantee that we would not go to Canada. To facilitate our trip, Brunel generously offered to stay; but he requested Mr. de Zeng to say that he would give his word only on condition that he would be kept in the fort, as he could not remain on this deserted shore in the open air. Following this,

Major de Zeng returned to have supper and sleep at the Governor's, and we remained behind to deliberate on our situation.

The height of these annoyances was our boatmen, heated by the rum which they had drunk in great abundance, given the difficulties in navigating and the generosities of Major Bingham, coming to ask us to settle, saying that they were going back on foot as soon as morning came, and that they were leaving us there with our batteau. The truth is, that the sight of an immense lake and the relative smallness of the batteau frightened them, and that, seeing how we were in an awkward position with the governor who would not take the side of the French, they believed the occasion favorable for dissimulating their cowardice and for giving themselves the pleasure of abandoning us with impunity in a wilderness. We very forcefully sent them off to bed; we made sure that we had the arms and belongings, and during the night, chose to keep watch, one after the other. Desjardins, being on watch, went to inspect the fires of the other boats and encountered there a certain Amos Ainsley, a Loyalist who had taken refuge in Kingston in Canada. This man came with him under the tent; and the others being awakened, he gave us some very useful information on Niaouré Bay and the Black River: he knew the area due to his having gone through it several times, engaged in trade in livestock between Canada and New York and, secretly, in furs. He made us several offers of his services and promised to go see Desjardins in Albany next winter.

Thursday, 17 October 1793 At day-break, Major de Zeng returned, saying that the governor did not want to hear of receiving Brunel in his fort; that he was to remain on the other side; that, when he needed something, he was to fire his rifle; that they would then send a man to find out what he needed and who would then bring it to him. Mr. de Zeng had warned the commandant that, given these conditions, he was not responsible for the hostage; and that he would likely return to Oswego falls to wait for us. From the portage to the fort, it is about 12 miles, and the rapids are halfway. Mr. de Zeng added that he had promised the governor the case of gin, some powder and some lead; finally, that the fort's interpretor was to come get everything.

At that point, we all deliberated. Brunel's word was held to be no longer binding, since he had given it only on condition of being received into the fort: on the other hand, it bothered him to have come so far only to miss out on the trip and to be obliged to grow bored while waiting for us at the falls. We made up our minds to smuggle him under the tarpaulin (the number of our group being indicated in the passport), and to let him out of his hiding place when we should be out of sight of the fort, remaining ready to hide him again, if we encountered any English ships which should ask for our passport. That decided, we waited until nine for the interpreter, when, not seeing him arrive, we embarked, ready to leave.

At half-past nine, our boatmen, kept in check by Mr. de Zeng, again took up their functions, in spite of their extreme dislike of the Lake. Brunel, hidden

under the tarp, was not seen from the fort, the sentinel of which let us pass. The wind in the east being favorable, we hoisted the sail and sailed staying near the coast and heading for Nine Mile Point. The sky was serene, the water calm, and the wind propitious; all of which reassured a bit our fresh-water seamen.

The coast forms an endless number of points. During the first miles, the lands are low and well wooded. The lake water is limpid, good and pleasant to drink. When this lake is turbulent, it becomes more dangerous than the sea itself, due to the frequency of the waves, which are much shorter and stress a ship more. With small boats like ours, prudence demands that however fine the weather one stay near the coast because a sudden breeze is enough to make you capsize. Even so, there are places on the coast where one has to wait some time to set out again, as over several miles the coast bristles with steep rocks where the boats and unfortunate travelers would be blown by the wind and crushed under the waves. Not a year goes by without these accidents occurring, due only to imprudence and to the lack of exact information about the coast and knowing the places where a refuge could be found in case of bad weather.

From Oswego to Nine Mile Point, the coast is generally low, although steep to the right of the points of land. What earth is good is very little deep. Below, it is sand, and lower, clay appears in several places. The beach is strewn with flat and rounded stones, a type of sandstone suitable for the sharpening of even fine tools. The lake is paved with immense stones of the same type, with large recesses, or joints. Towards the shore, the bottom, illuminated by the sun, is a greenish color and brown in several places from the shadows cast by the joints and recesses of the foliated stone. There are several shores composed of banks of the same kind of stone, but more elevated. One finds among the pebbles gray, pink and blue granite. Storms have uprooted the trees on the lowest sections of the shore.

At noon, our mast not being sturdy, we got out at Nine Mile Point to cut down another. From here can be seen an immense expanse of land forming an extremely long point towards the north-east, with what look like islands at the end of the said point. The whole of this immense land mass slopes in a single line, there being no mountains that one can distinguish. This point, called *Pointe Traverse*, forms with Nine Mile Point the two projecting extremities of a large gulf. The points (or distant capes) produce a rather singular optical illusion. They appear to be cut by the air, and the trees and slopes seem elevated above the horizon of water.

At one, the weather being favorable, we moved away from the shore and steered ENE to cross the gulf, instead of following its shore. Mr. de Zeng pointed out to us the mouths of Catfish Creek, of the little and great Salmon Creeks. The wind lessened a bit, although still from the East. We advanced by sail and oar until four, in a bearing NNE quarter N by a wind from the south, with drift to the NE. At this hour, a mountain which rises above the horizon

line of the lands of Point Traverse, and which appears to be the summit of the terrain, was seen in the SE direction. In the distance, we were still able to make out, from white sections which stand out against the green of the trees, the steepness of the shoreline. These white sections are the result of hurricanes which, as they go by, tear up the dune of white sand which runs all along this side along the Lake, uprooting all the trees and leaving only the hill, completely changed; the whiteness of which can be seen from so far away. One can make out easily two land masses differently inclined, by a large line and two shades of light on the sloping portions of the land. We kept ourselves 5 to 6 miles from the coast.

At 4 and ¾, in order not to stay all night on the open lake, and to bring the coast nearer, we headed SSE more or less in the direction of the higher mountain, which we took to be that of Steuben, according to what Mr. de Zeng told us.[82] We steered a course towards a part of the coast which offered us the appearance of the mouth of a creek, and we strained at the oars until about 7. Fortunately, the bright moon made up for us the lack of daylight. Near land, we came upon some very large waves, which made us fearful of running aground on a bad shore, and, as they prevented us from getting nearer, put us in the impossibility of reconnoitering the apparent outlet. We therefore chose to follow the coast until we might find a place where less forceful surf should allow us to land safely. Having continued our route a good mile, we took advantage of a place that was less rough to cut through the surf and run aground on a coast of white sand, very fine, and where, as we could see no trees, we believed there was an outlet. We jumped into the water in order to push the boat onward toward the shore by the strength of our arms, out of reach of the waves. With much trouble we succeeded in this.

Our batteau safe, we went to reconnoitre the countryside, while our men pitched the tent and, in order to make us a fire, gathered the wood which the Lake throws up onto the shore. We had to climb a sand dune which appeared completely devastated. Having reached the summit, imagine our surprise at seeing on the other side a large expanse of water and, beyond, the forest and the true shore of the Lake! The dune was just as steep or even steeper than on the lake side and resembled those which form lagoons and extend continuously along the sea: this one stretched out as far as the eye could see in an east-west direction. We went back down to dry ourselves out next to a good fire of red cedar, the smoke of which has a pleasant odor. After supper, we resolved to follow, given the fine moonlight, the coast of dunes, in order to find the mouth of the great or little Sandy Creek, which the maps place in this area. We went rather far, without seeing anything other than the same sand dunes, and the same expanse of water behind.

Friday, 18 October While waiting for our belongings to be reloaded and the batteau to be launched, we divided up our party to try to find the creeks indicated on the map. Desjardins, walking towards the East, noticed the

mouth of Little Sandy Creek, which is nothing more than a break in the dune, by means of which the inland water joins the Lake's water; a break which is not twenty *toises* wide and is of little depth. Saw on the sand some animal tracks and even human footsteps. Pharoux, going towards the west, saw only the continuation of the dune, and having climbed up it, he found on the other side, on the lake within, an Indian and his wife in their bark canoe. Their two dogs on the bank barked at him. At the signs which he made to the Indian, the latter drew near to him, but to the questions asked in French and English, he only answered in his own tongue, which Pharoux could not understand, and pointed to the north.

We re-embarked around seven, with wind from the south, and followed the coast in order to reach Point Traverse. At eight, we came upon an opening which we thought was great Sandy Creek. The sand, of which the coast is made, is very white, quartzous, suitable for metal-casters, to clean utensils and sharpen knives.

At half-past nine, in order to avoid a point and breakers, which indicated a bank of rocks, we headed NW. Here the coast changes. Instead of steep sand dunes, there are low-lying lands covered with fine trees. The wind rose, as did the waves. The batteau was being tossed around. Our sail was the only thing supporting us. The pilot, at the approach of danger, began to gulp down so much rum that he headed right for the breakers, no longer knowing what he was doing. Brunel grabbed the rudder, and our pilot-Major fell to the bottom of the boat, drunk. Pharoux and Desjardins each grabbed one of the sail arms, in order to hold it firmly to the wind, and we moved away from the dangerous coast, to the great regret of the men, who would have preferred to get smashed up rather than risk being on the open lake. There was, however, no other way to save ourselves. Our batteau was sturdy. Brunel steered in such a way that we took on not a crest of water. Our salvation depended upon the mast, which bent under the force of the wind.

One of our boatmen was so frightened at our position that he took out his knife in order to cut the halyard of the sail. Brunel saw him fortunately and without leaving the helm, holding an axe to his head, the fear of the present threat cancelled the more distant one, and he got back to work: if this unfortunate soul had succeeded, we were lost: no longer being able to steer, we would have been thrown against the rocks and broken, and no one would have been able to save themselves.

Our third boatman revealed he was a little better. He was in the bow, and as the sail cut off the view of the man holding the rudder, he guided the course by alerting us of the reefs which he saw. After getting by the bank of rocks, we made out a small bay, at the end of which is a river, which the English call Stony River, and French maps the *Rivière de l'Assomption*.[83]

The wind continuing as strongly, we would have soon reached Point Traverse, but prudence kept us from turning too closely, because of the breakers. We went on about a mile in this direction and entered into the middle of the

channel between this point and one of the *Isles aux galots*.[84] We had scarcely rounded this dangerous point, when we found calm water. Being sheltered from the wind by the islands and the elevated lands of the point, we made haste to land in a cove formed by the coast, half a mile from Point Traverse. It was noon. Getting out there, we made a fire to dry ourselves, and we hauled out of our batteau our pilot, who had fallen asleep in it and looked completely surprised at seeing himself on land, and alive. Once dry, we began our operations.

Point Traverse being the furthest point of the large bay called by the English *Hungry Bay*, by the French *Baie de Nivernois*, and by the Indians, *Niaouré*, Pharoux, Desjardins and Brunel went to stand at location A on the map, from which point Pharoux plotted the *Isles aux galots* and the coast of the bay.[85]

Point Traverse is very elevated and made of large stones arranged in horizontal beds. From the point, the coast makes a large, straight line of the same type, and looks like an enormous wall. It is quite high in several places. From the steepest part, a great many of these rocks have fallen, and, among these, evergreen trees have grown. The summit of the coast bears trees of the same kind. The foot of these natural walls, worn by the force of the waves, is full of cavities and shows an infinite number of irregular pillars, on which this mass seems to be set.

Left at half-past one. The coast is steep until B, and crowned with evergreens. Everywhere great depth. Barques can get near the coast.

We headed towards the point of the peninsula C, which is covered with trees. It seemed to us that, from the small number of dried-out trees that one sees there, the middle section had been cleared. The neck of the peninsula is completely bare of trees, and appears to be only a bank of sand. The Canadians normally make a portage there with their canoes in order to avoid having to go around, and to enjoy the shelter of the coast. This contraction allows one to glimpse part of the coast of the bay. Beyond, what we had thought to be clearings are places where the wind's violence has uprooted trees.

We rounded cape G with a NW wind and, using the oars, we got by point K and point E. We landed at C & E to take two other readings, after which we walked along the bay, on a bank composed of red granite broken into gravel the size of peas, and making a very attractive scene. We picked up several shells on the beach having a very beautiful nacre, and resembling mussel shells.

Having re-embarked, we rowed until half-past four, crossing over shallows covered with reeds. As the weather grew dark, we looked for a shelter at the location O, where we landed and pitched our tent. The coast, from K to E, is quite steep, and the bottom, of large stones. In E, the landing is easy and good. The lower part of the coast is, again, of flat, horizontal stones, a type of limestone. The coast forms a kind of calotte.[86] As the area where we landed was quite steep and the wind increasing, we heard our boat hitting against

the rocks. Brunel and one of our boatmen went to make it secure in a small recess which they found a little further on. Fortunately we were not yet asleep, for the next day we would have found only the wreckage of our batteau.

Saturday, 19 8bre 1793 We were quite certain that today we would be sleeping on the Black River; but as Mr. de Zeng did not know the country any more than we did, and the maps were so full of mistakes, we resolved to follow the contours of the bay, being more assured thereby of not going beyond it, and of benefiting from this circumstance to plot a more exact map of the bay.

We left only at 7 because of the rain. We headed towards point L, course SW ¼S. After discovering that there was no river at the end of the cove, we headed towards M, where the coast is somewhat steep; from there towards N, same beach; with good landing. We ranged along the point SE and, once round it, we found ourselves in a wide channel resembling the entrance to a large river. We advanced there about a mile, the channel still wide and deep, and the two shores lined with rushes. Then the depth, as well as the width, diminishes, so that we then found only three feet of water over a bottom of mud; and the ever-diminishing width proved to us that it was not what we were looking for. However, we set foot on land in front of a shelter made by Indians who had come to fish in this area, which is crowded with fish and ducks. It was not without some trouble that we reached solid ground among the rushes and mud. Our scouts came back without having found anything other than fishing poles and the remnants of a fire in front of a bark shelter. They had also seen a stream which formed the furthest end of this large entrance, and heard the sound of a waterfall that this stream was making a short distance away. We had to remain patient and to re-embark at half-past nine.

At ten, we arrived at P, the exit of the false entrance which the English rightfully call *Muddy River* (*la rivière vaseuse*). We disembarked, breakfasted and here took a reading. Set out again at eleven. We reached by rowing Q, and from there up to R. We then entered a small bay full of rushes and shallows, which we again took for the entrance. Right away, the rain interrupted our observations. The wind and the waves increased. We had to look for shelter. We observed during our course the point of the false bay, where we saw on the beach two canoes and an Indian habitation in the shape of a tent. The coast then forms a large cove, bordered with limestone rocks and masses of granite. The base of the soil, eroded by the waters, is of foliated stones, very flat and likewise of a type of limestone. There is then a sandbank, where we ran aground. Mr. de Zeng, seeing the weather worsen and remembering the risks of the day before, was not tempted to round the point S which was before us, and in English, ordered his men to make for shore. As they wanted nothing better, the order was executed before we could oppose

it. We had only just enough time to jump into the water in order to push and steady the batteau and prevent the surf from filling it up before we landed it. It was fortunate that our second running aground, like the first, took place on a beach of fine sand, with the result that nothing was damaged. While some were busy with the boat and the others in lighting a fire, Desjardins, going along the coast, found behind the point S a small cove where we would have disembarked quite safely.

Seeing next an expanse of water on his right, he continued on, and saw that the point T was part of a peninsula, which was connected to the continent by only a strip of gravel six feet wide. Crossing this strip, he could see, clearly indicated, the entrance to the Black River, being able to follow with his eyes the shores on either side of the river's mouth. He came back to announce this news to Pharoux and Brunel, whom he brought to the site. We were careful not to say any of this to Mr. de Zeng, whom we proposed to lead the next day to the Black River without his knowing it; the very one who was confident that he could lead us there and who was beginning not to know where to point it out to us. Behind the beach where we ran aground, there was a swampy meadow. We brought the batteau in closer, into a more wooded area.

The fire that we made brought us the visit of an Indian and his wife and two children, all clothed in wool blankets, which were attached with belts. The father had a good rifle, which we set down against a tree several paces from us. This family understood a few words of English. When we said we were French, they said they were Missisaugas, a nation which inhabits the NW part of Lakes Ontario and Erie. We gave them some peas and fat pork, which they accepted. They also took some tobacco, after which they left us, indicating their satisfaction with us. The rest of the day was used in taking some measurements in S, then in fishing, making a complete change of our clothes and in drying our belongings.

Sunday, 20 8er 1793 The bad weather kept us from leaving until eight. Brunel having taken the helm, we steered so as to double the point T, and in spite of a rather forceful head wind, we succeeded in doing so by rowing hard. The weather very cloudy at ten, we reached our lands, coast rather elevated, where we breakfasted. There, we told Mr. de Zeng that we were at the entrance to the Black River and on our lands.

At eleven, we set off again. This coast is composed of flat stone, limestone type; some rocks of granite here and there, which seem to have been brought either by storms from the Lake or by the Black River's current. On the shore there is little depth to the soil, but as one goes further in a bit, it acquires depth and the trees' growth is quite beautiful. We went by sail with a south south-west wind in a NE direction. At noon and a quarter, the darkness of the water showed us that we had met the current from the Black River. We followed this darker water in order to steer ourselves to the channel, where

we found little depth to the water. In this area, the entrance enlarges further, into the shape of a vast basin, almost circular, filled with shallows and reeds, in the middle of which we saw a great number of cranes and ducks. After having passed the bar, we found twenty feet of water in the channel. Bottom, red sand, covered with specks of iron.

The river's true entrance finally appeared. Two small, very elevated rock islands present three openings that look like the ancient ruins of a natural bridge. This picturesque view is quite striking because of the black water, the romantic edifices of rock, and the darkness of the woods. We landed at one of these natural pillars and clambered up it so we could contemplate the bay, the lake and the river. After enjoying this majestic *prospect*,[87] we re-embarked in order to go up the river.

A little further, we came upon an island covered with trees native to the area. The terrain, to the left of the island, is shaded with young thickets. At intervals, the river narrows. Its shores are made of banks of flat limestone, of a grayish color where split. The river bottom is paved with the like. We noticed on the left a canal which we at first took to be a creek, and which we then recognized as one of the arms of the River, which forms a large island in this area. This arm, at the present moment dry in part, is hollowed out of the same kind of stone. The bottom, on which we walked, is perfectly level. Very vigorous growths of vegetation indicating good soil. We measured a maple tree which was more than twelve feet in diameter. Across from this island, on one's right, is a small creek; after which, a part of the river is bordered by low lands having no rocks on the shores; after this, the river narrows, bordered with rock, and then forms a basin in which, on one side, is a small mass of earth in front of the mouth of a stream, at this time dry; and in the middle of the same basin is an island cut in half by a kind of ditch filled with smooth stones, and which, whenever the waters are higher, must function as a canal. On each side of this island, further up, is a rather strong rapid. We tried in vain to pass, by the arm on our side; we had to go by the other, and it was with a great deal of trouble that we brought our batteau up to the upper basin, where we again found fifteen feet of water. Reaching the head of this island, we saw there a pile of trees and rocks: these get held up there when dragged by the current and are the probable cause of the rapid. In the upper basin, we saw another small island, on our side, at the mouth of a creek which was still supplying a fair amount of water.

The double basin forms a very attractive site. From the basin we entered into the channel of the river, which suddenly narrows, its banks steepening into rock masses interspersed with evergreens. The site becomes very melancholy. With night approaching, we encamped in a small recess, of about one acre, which was located in the middle of these sheer rock formations. Having secured our batteau and pitched our tent, we caught some catfish and lake bass, an excellent fish similar to sea-bass. We had supper and slept on our lands for the first time, at long last.

Monday, 21 October 1793 Left at eight in the morning. Went up a half-mile, got over a rapid, quite strong yet over which much water flowed. A half-mile further, found a very violent rapid. We got out on the rocks and after having tried without success, the seven of us, to draw the boat onward with ropes, we gave up this undertaking, afraid that if the rope broke, our batteau would break up on the rocks and, in this wilderness, leave us worse off. So we went up on foot, climbing from rock to rock, to see as much as we could.

The river continues still deeply hemmed in between two walls of sheer limestone. This bluish stone is excellent for building, and although hard, can be cut cleanly. We found some stones that give strong indications of deposits of iron ore. Moreover, the sand, even on the bottom, is reddish and filled with ferruginous particles, which help make the water even darker. We found some pyrites, brown on the top and jet-black inside: these make a spark with our steel, break into pieces when thrown roughly against the ground, and are of a bituminous type. We walked on the rocks for about two miles, with much difficulty. We saw an island and a creek, which was dry at this time, on our right; many violent rapids; and finally a waterfall that blocked our way completely. The falling rain forced us to return to our batteau, and we came back to our campsite of the previous night. We pitched our tent more securely, intending to spend some time there, and so cleared some land, unloaded everything from the canoe, made a shelter for storage, and staving in the barrels of biscuit which had got wet, dried it out by the fire, also our clothes and belongings. Within this little rock flow, we were completely sheltered from the strong winds and the falling trees which the storm uprooted on the heights around us. We fished, and as the river rose during the night, we took frequent turns watching the batteau, which would have been carried away without these precautions, the water having risen six feet during the night.

We caught several white fish which we found to be very good. Brunel killed two American pheasants, similar to the *gelinote* of Europe.[88] We fished up too a kind of salamander, much larger than the European kind, measuring a foot long, including the tail. This amphibian has four feet, a head somewhat like a lizard's. It clung so strongly to the rock that our men had much trouble pulling in the line, and they thought they had caught a very large fish. We found in our surroundings much *moose wood* (*bois d'élan*). It is called this because the *Elan*, which the Canadians name *Orignal*, and the Americans *Moose deer*, is fond of it. It is a very supple bush, mucilaginous like the marsh mallow. Its bark is used to make ropes which do not break and are impervious to water. We made one for our boat. If cork is lacking, the wood, being soft and spongy, makes a good substitute.[89]

Tuesday, 22 October 1793 In the morning, much rain and hail. The most we could do was reconnoitre the immediate area during the moments when

the weather was less bad. The upper part of the lands is sandy. About thirty years ago the countryside burnt over, with the result that the woods are only about that old, with the exception of several large maple and walnut trees that escaped the conflagration. The sand is a type of clay, and the humus has a good foot of depth, more in some places, so that it is capable of furnishing crops as good as those from more compact terrain, and will be very easy to plow. Beyond the evergreens which cover the rock-strewn sides of the river, the terrain improves: one finds a thicket of trees, with a combination of maple, ash, walnut, etc., so that, contrary to the usual rule, the banks of the river form the worst soil, the rocks being not only exposed on the surface but also leaving between them dangerous crevices which, being covered over with moss and woody plants, require many precautions to keep oneself from falling into them.[90]

From ten in the morning until one in the afternoon, we went to reconnoitre the basin which we had crossed on Sunday, and which seemed to us to make a favorable site for locating a city, should the bar allow a channel for ships, as the depth of the Black River, 17 to 20 feet, was sufficient to bring in sloops and schooners up to the foot of the rapids of the upper basin.[91]

We saw all the advantages of this location. The quays of cut stone have already been built by Nature's hand; the ground being entirely of stone and elevated twelve feet above water level in the section between the upper and lower basin, the city would receive via the upper basin the output of the mills located on the falls and rapids; and the lower basin would be used for its exports and allow products to be brought in from the Lake. The ground is dry naturally and promises salubrity. The terrain rises and forms hills around the basin, and would allow the city to expand to advantage. The stone needed for building and pavement would be found in digging cellars. To make bricks handily clay is found nearby: but all of these advantages amount to nothing if the channel cannot be navigated, as commerce on the Lake requires ships with a keel. In this case, we will have to locate it on the bay, where we will not lack for places that form natural ports. A very winding creek, which empties into the upper basin, offers several marshes suitable for being converted into meadows. Land, although hilly, quite good in the vicinity.

We returned to the batteau, where they were fishing in the basin, unsuccessfully. We saw on the bank the remains of an Indian fishing hut, and on the shore we found a paddle and a *mokasson* (*soulier indien de peau de chevreuil*) and further on, the remains of a bark canoe. We came back by water, dined very late, and busied ourselves drying out the remainder of our biscuit and belongings.

Wednesday, 23.8er.1793 The day before, we had agreed that Pharoux would leave with one of our men and provisions to go up the Black River for a couple of days, in the hope of reaching the settlement of the Baron de Steuben, from whom we thought ourselves to be thirty miles distant;[92] or of

finding any loghouses, the inhabitants of which might give us some information. It was decided that during this time, the others would continue the examination of the immediate area around the camp, where they would make the preparations for departure. Accordingly, we made several excursions into the woods. We kept the men busy repairing the batteau and sail, making a new mast and a large paddle for steering.

Pharoux left at 7 with Briton, one of our boatmen, loaded with provisions for three days and armed with a rifle, axe, steel and blankets.

At 7:30 arrived at the large falls, up to where we had reconnoitred. At 8 arrived at top of the falls.

At 7:30 [*sic*], went down and crossed a creek paved with flat stones, and at this time dry. Went up this creek for a quarter of an hour. Land rather well wooded, with clusters of young trees. The waterfall on the Black River torrent-like in form.

At eight saw a rapid, easy to go up by batteau; a little further up, a fall; banks rising straight up, around 36–42 feet above the water.

At 8:20 another waterfall. At 8:30 another waterfall and chain of rapids. At 8:36 waterfall of around ten feet. The banks in this spot display shapes of unimaginable destruction and debris. At 8:45 a larger fall in three parts: the one in the middle narrowed by rock debris which divides this cascade in two.

At 9:05 large waterfall and long.[93] The general direction of the River is toward the East and upward. It is very sinuous in these places. At 9:15 went down the rock in an accessible place, on the right of a waterfall. The shore less steep. Rift in the rock and faults which contribute to the flow of the upper waters. A large sheet of water of the full width of the basin that the river forms in this spot. Another sheet or cascade lower. These cascades are divided by several slightly elevated rocks, of flat stones. Small side channels also create a cascade. The shore is low on our side and a little steep on the other. Piles of trees dragged by the waters. The river's direction toward the East, then turning toward the South East.

At 10:05 another waterfall or violent rapid. The river narrows. On the left, large pile of flat stones. On the right, a little further, the river curls toward the South East and then toward the East. It forms a series of rapids in the middle of which is a pile of stones. At 10:40 the river is in this spot around 50 *toises* wide, SE, turning toward the east, somewhat rapid. Fine beach of stone. Pretty basin. At 10:45, very small creek of running water. Beds of stone that jut out. Lands low and fine vegetation: better ones on the right. At 10:50 no more beach. The river turns SE, much moose wood. At 10:55 small creek of running water. Excellent lands: tall maples, ash trees and even several oaks and walnut trees. The river wide and rapid, but navigable.

At 11:00, small hill, then valley of low lands and wide creek on flat stones. 5 min. later, running water; much further up, large number of trees fallen across the creek. The water slips through fissures in the stone. At 11:25 the river is wide and beautiful, land good; better on the right. Direction

SSE. Narrow beach of stone; width 100 *toises*. At 11:40 wide rapids: Direction E. The eddies form a small bay on each side. At 11:50 large rapids. In the middle, rock island. Fallen trees and piles of sand heaped up on the land, which must get flooded when the water rises. The little arm is on the other side.

Noon, we see a large cascade in the distance. Stone debris forming an island traversed by the water. The small arm on the right. Steep slope in the rock on the left. Narrowing of the river further up. It turns away toward the NE. Clump of trees on the rocks of the island. Lands low on the right, high on the left. Two ravines and hill; then another ravine filled up with trees piled on top of each other. At 12:50, the large cascade, its torrent on the left, with an arm on the right. Large island, made of rocks and covered with pines. Lands low on the right, but becoming steep at the foot of the waterfall; high on the right. The waterfall creates a spray.

At one o'clock, reached the top of the fall. Water rapid, the sign of falls further up. 1:05, the river bends. Lands steep on our side, and low on the right. Direction E. The bend SE. The lands form a very elevated hillside. Fine vegetation. 1:25 the river divides itself and forms an island with two falls at the juncture. Much fissuring of rocks on our side. A little higher up, large waterfall, ten feet, with a small channel on the island side. 1:35 arm of river very rapid, going E and turning SE. Very large and beautiful island. Land low and good. Fine plant growth. At the end of the island is another cascade, stronger and wider on the right than on the left.

At two o'clock, around one hundred steps higher up, another island, covered with trees. The wider arm on our side. Lands good, low. Took a meal here on the bank. Direction N.E. before the other end of the island, very large sheet of water. At 2:45 large waterfall and rapid with two masses of stones piled up on each other.

At three o'clock, rapid and waterfall. Direction E. Have not yet seen the point of the island. Caught sight of another arm which goes toward the north. This meeting of the waters makes a dreadful roar and turbulence. Wide flat rocks. The lands, beyond this junction, appear low and to have no more rocks. The other arm of the river goes NE. What I had taken to be a river is only the small arm of the Black River. Land good on both sides, and on the island; one can get to the island going from rock to rock across the expanse of the small arm. The river, beyond, becomes calm. At 3:34, turned following along the arm, which goes almost north. Light rapid after the first island. The water then forms a calm basin. The river is wide: the lands low on either side. Fine plant growth. Indian hut in shape of a cone. At half past five, the river still calm. I had Briton make a fire. Had a light supper. Slept in a blanket. It froze during the night. This area is very attractive.

Thursday, 24 October 1793 Resumed my observations at half past 7. Followed closely the left bank of the Black River, still about as wide as the Seine at the Pont Royal. Water flowing peacefully. On both sides lands low

and good. Few rocks. Much vegetation. Few or no evergreens. At 7:35 very large tree felled with an axe and lying on the ground. Signs of a recently made fire. Direction of the river NE. At seven 45 a small island; trees piled up by the current at the upper end. Another island, smaller; wider arm on our side. Creek dry. As one goes up land good. Another creek with water, then *swamp* (*terrein humide*).

At eight, small island on our right. At 8:15, wooded island on the right side. At 8:30, large wooded island; the larger arm on the left. A little before, dried-up creek. Before arriving at this creek, the lands are somewhat elevated. Opposite large arm, creek flowing. Direction of the river more East. Went up along the creek, which leaves a space stripped of trees and goes NE. Trickle of water and swamps. At 8:55 the river narrows. The lands, high, begin to slope down. The sound of a waterfall is heard. Two light rapids. The river flows over a bed of flat stones. Direction not quite NE. What had seemed to me to be an arm of the river is a SE detour which the river forms in winding at the location of the rapid.

At 9:15, a creek. At 9:30 river narrow. Same basin of stones as lower down. Same quality of rock (what is above marked as an island is only a narrowing of the river). Direction NE a quarter more. After breakfast set out again at 9:55.

At ten, very strong rapids; stones on the right: broken rocks on the left. At 10:10, another rapid, East, turning suddenly SE. Wood debris piled up by the river. Creek; this rapid is a kind of continuous torrent. At 10:20 beach of stone. Mounds of pebbles piled up to the left of the torrent, which twists toward the south and then toward the east. At 10:25 another rapid indicating a waterfall. Layered rocks on the right (45 *toises*). Direction East, then turning NE. At 10:35, large fall.[94] Beach of flat stones, on the right. Direction NE. Terrain very elevated. At 10:45, another waterfall on the left. Woods of red cedar. Above, the river turns from the NE to the East. In the course of 300 *toises* it remains rapid and indicative of other waterfalls. Terrain more elevated on the left than on the right. Same bluish-gray stone. Rocks pyritous and incrusted. I went further only to be sure of the waterfall that I saw in the distance. I set my course toward the NW a little through the woods. The greater portion of these lands is flat, with some swamps. I saw some trees which had been cut down with an axe. At right angle to the large fall, the terrain is more hilly. The shores of those sections where there are rocks are covered with evergreens. The rest is a fine plant growth, especially in the plains. Had supper and slept next to a very large fire and near a large fall, about 10 miles from camp.[95]

Friday, 25 October Left at half past six with Briton. Dreadful path over the rocks among the junipers and *hemlocks* (*ifs*). Arrived 9:30 at the tent.

We were beginning to get worried about our scout. Finding ourselves together again, and everything having been readied for our departure, we breakfasted and set out at 11; saw again the river basin that was suited for

the location of the city. Land better on the other side than on ours. With difficulty, we got through the rapid which separates the two basins. The island is on our side. Arrived at the entrance. The wind was so contrary that it forced us to make a halt among the rocks of a small peninsula that the river had made there. A heavy rain arose. We were already regretting our rock slide where we had been so well sheltered, and we pitched the tent among red cedars and rock crevices. As the rain lessened a bit, we made our way with some difficulty through rocks and piled-up trees, and got to see the other side of the peninsula, a very large recess, probably the remains of a bay filled in by the river and Lake debris which had accumulated in this dead-end through the action of the NW winds; and too, an enormous mass of trees forming a chain which closed off this valley, extending from our peninsula up to another point, about a mile distant. This recess of more than a mile in depth is filled in and contains rushes and marsh. Brunel crossed it by stepping from one tree to another.

These trees, lying on the ground, were covered with *black birds* (*merles*) that had apparently chosen this area to be their rendezvous for their departure. From there we could see in the bay flocks of herons, white as snow, stretched out in a line in the shallows and very busily engaged in their fishing. We also saw storks, wild geese and many ducks of various species; this entrance, abounding in fish and filled with shallows, being very favorable to aquatic birds.

We came back to our camp over the shallows then exposed and so made a complete circuit of this small peninsula, from where we could see that the Black River, instead of going straight into the bay, stayed close to the coast for about a mile, held back by the shallows probably, and made a circular detour to reach the middle of the bay. As the sun was then shining brightly, the river's darkness stood out against the water in the bay and allowed us to see its course clearly. However, instead of looking for the channel, since Mr. de Zeng was urging us to return, we preferred, given the little time we had, to proceed across the shallows to reach the coast on our lands, to disembark there and examine them.

We had had the previous day a dry electric fog, which Mr. de Zeng claimed was the infallible precursor of frost, so that, according to him, if we did not want to winter in Canada, we had to hasten our return for fear of the ice, which would have blocked the way for our boat.[96] Not knowing the local area, we believed him and decided to leave the next day and return, making as few side trips as possible.

Saturday, 26 October 1793 At half past six, left the entrance to the Black River to reconnoitre the remainder of the bay as we left. We navigated across the shallows in front of the entrance in order to be able to get a better view of our coastline. After running aground 2 or 3 times, we managed to get free. These shallows are of red sand, like that of the river. This sand is so beaten by

the waves that it has become firm. Numerous fine rushes grow upon it. Only one or two feet of water are to be found there and in several places, not even half a foot. These shallows stretch more than a mile across in this place. Our coastline exhibits a circular shape with several points on it. You can see several creeks in the middle of the valleys which go down into the bay. The terrain of the coast is low and seems marshy. It slowly rises in a gentle slope and is covered with trees of the most beautiful growth. One perceives only a line of evergreens on the summit of the lands: this line follows the contour of the various undulations in ground elevation, and everything gives the appearance of being excellent land.

After getting ourselves free from the shallows, we navigated toward the point where we had breakfasted the day of our arrival at the Black River. We disembarked there and, after breakfast, checked and made corrections to our measurements, and went about a mile inland in order to examine the soil type, which we found to be good. Beautiful sugar maples, oaks and walnut. Land easily cleared. Two feet of humus; underneath, clayey sand. Slope rising very slowly toward the summit, where flat rock becomes visible and evergreens begin to grow.

Having re-embarked, one of our boatmen broke our compass through his clumsiness: this prevented us from taking exterior readings. After reaching the point of the peninsula made by the Black River, we had to be satisfied with going back up to the second point toward the NE. There, able to see yet further points and small bays, we were very much tempted to push further on, but Mr. de Zeng's admonitions concerning the lateness of the season and the loss of our compass convinced us to delay the remaining exploration of the bay until next year. We had disembarked at this spot, and we found the soil likewise to be good there. The shore of the lake embellished only with rocks, most of them granite, among which evergreens grow: but these alien rocks were likely brought by the force of the waters and storms, as twenty feet further on, one finds the natural soil to be rockless and rich with fine plant growth, with no evergreens.

So saying good-bye to our bay for now, we set our course towards the large NW peninsula which forms this part of the bay, at the end of which is a rather narrow isthmus where the Canadians make a portage, as they do at the lower peninsula. The same reports give for the totality of the bay a length of nine miles and six miles of width. We would have wished to explore also the islands that the soldiers at Oswego had described to us as abounding in game and surrounded with fish and in one of which they told us was a very fine port; but we had to resign ourselves to leaving.

After hugging for some time the coast of the peninsula, the land of which seemed as good as the rest, we set our course towards our notorious Point Traverse, which had cost us so much trouble to get around, hoping to get past it before nightfall and to camp by the Stony River; but the wind rising forcefully from that direction, made us first steer for the Galoo Islands, so

as to be able to maintain our route close to the wind: as the wind doubled in violence, and it looked like a thunderstorm was coming, we then steered toward two small islands in the middle of the bay. The strength of the waves prevented our rowers from reaching these islands: the waves kept pushing us back more than the oar-strokes could bring us forward. Seeing that we were losing rather than gaining, and that the storm was going to be a violent one, we stopped trying to confront it directly and prudently turning our back on it, raised our sail: it promptly carried us into the cove, next to our earlier stopping point, where we had once landed between the two points of the little bay. All the shaking of our boat stopped, and we disembarked quite peacefully onto the small strip of beach which joins the small peninsula, and separates the bay of the Black River from the large bay. We had hardly set up camp when the wind lessened and the rain stopped: but the roughness of the Lake forced us to stay put. We went to look at our earlier campsite on the other side of the point, where we found the fire that we had lit a week earlier still burning. It had consumed the deepest roots and formed a hollow of nearly three feet in this area in which there is nearly no earth and the soil of which is only a weaving together of fine, downy roots of intertwined plants.

We searched in vain for a sabre-cane which Desjardins had forgotten there in coming. In all probability, the Mississaugas Indians found and carried it away. We hunted, with no success. Our men caught several fish. It froze intensely this night.

Sunday, 27 October 1793 Left at 6:15. The wind NE, favorable, we steered directly for Point Traverse, which we fortunately doubled around nine o'clock. Finding that we were in a position either to follow the coast or to cross the gulf, the wind and fine weather made us decide to undertake the crossing, in spite of our poor boatmen, and we made for Nine Mile Point. The wind kept up fortunately. We saw that some batteaux had stopped at Sandy Creek, and we had dinner in our own batteau.

In the evening, we caught sight of three batteaux filled with English soldiers, and we were confident that this was the garrison from Oswego being evacuated, as we had been told that orders for such were expected at any moment. Toward evening, we also thought we saw in the middle of the lake a vessel under sail. At four-thirty, the wind became very cold. From our oars, each time they were drawn out of the water, icicles hung. We fretted at our remaining within such a small space for the whole day almost without moving. As the wind began to turn toward the West and was pushing us toward the coast, we had to look for a place to land. No sooner was the word uttered than our boatmen, hastening to get to land as if pursued by the fear they had of the Lake, drove us right to the coast, any spot being suitable for them, as long as they were on land. We still managed however to get the boat into a safe place.

We used all our energy to cut down some trees and make a fire, something for which we had been wishing for a long time now. Fortunately, a batteau

behind us, which had seen us land, and assuming therefore that the beach was good, came ashore next to our own. It was carrying a Canadian named Silas Judson and was being piloted by two Americans who lived at Three Rivers. These men, more used to traveling in the wilderness than were ours, had soon cut down a large quantity of wood; and having stacked up a dozen logs one on top of another, brought us back to life with a most blazing fire. Once we got ourselves warm again, we had supper, and then went to put our batteaux into a safe place. Upon becoming acquainted with our fellow voyagers, we agreed to continue our journey together, and as Mr. Judson was going to Albany, we promised to take him at Three Rivers onto our batteau and bring him to Schenectady, without taking the money he was offering us for that. This Mr. Judson was an American, born in Harford, in Connecticut, where he was going to visit his relatives and friends. As he was a Royalist, he had emigrated to Canada, where the government had given him a settlement at Elizabeth-town, in the twonship [*sic*] of Oswegatchi, three miles from the Saint Lawrence River. He gave us some very useful information about upper Canada. During the night, heavy frost.

Monday, 28 October 1793 Left at quarter past six, steering towards a point that we thought was the one at Nine Mile Point. We looked for the mouth of Salmon Creek, which we thought was just in front of us, while in fact we had passed it the day before, about 7 miles back; as was made clear to us when, after getting by the point, we saw distinctly that of Oswego and the fort. We could scarcely believe our eyes. As there only remained about two or three miles to go, we had to think of our friend Brunel. We therefore disembarked in the first cove, about two miles from the fort, and giving him some provisions, he set out through the woods in order to meet up with us at the falls of the Onnondago, the first American settlement one encounters when one comes from the Lake. For our part, as there was reason to believe that we had been seen from the garrison, we decided to continue our way on foot toward the fort, and we let our men conduct the batteau to Oswego, which we reached by way of land, taking advantage of this opportunity to observe the fort from the side from which we had not yet seen it.

Our conjectures were not wrong. As we had been seen when we landed, they sent for our batteau, which they thought had dropped off some contraband; but as it made straight for the fort and our men explained that their *masters*[97] were coming by land, they let it continue its way. Then the officer came to meet us and asked us who we were and why we had got out. We answered that we were the same French who had passed through several days earlier in order to go inspect our lands, that we were returning to Albany, and that the cold had impelled us to disembark in order to be able to warm ourselves by walking all the way to the fort. The officer then assumed a more open manner and conducted us along the better paths. We chatted about this and that. He had traveled in France, spoke our language and let us see from

his *esprit* and politeness that he lived up to all the good qualities that his pleasant appearance promised. This likeable young man, son of Mr. Holland, Surveyor-General of Canada, was killed eighteen months later in a duel with his captain, this same governor of Oswego.[98]

When we got to the gate of the fort, around which we had walked, Mr. de Zeng went in to speak to the governor, while we went down to the beach to meet up with our batteau. An hour later, out came Governor Shroeder, who asked us in a solemn tone what had happened to his hostage. Pharoux answered that he knew perfectly well that it was impossible to subsist on the other side of the river, and that, as he had refused to allow him to enter the fort, he had most likely gone to the Falls at Onnondago, where he had told us he would wait for us (which was a Jesuitical way of not lying). My Lord the Governor, with all possible gravity, declared that, in this case, until our hostage came back, he was going to hold us prisoners. This comedy was beginning to annoy us. Mr. de Zeng brought it to an end finally by having the Governor step into our batteau. There, His Excellency saw the celebrated case of gin that he had been promised. By tasting it he became convinced by none other than himself that the gin was not drinkable; and he could not impute its poor quality to us, as it had been bought at the store of his friend Mr. Porteous. He contented himself therefore with the powder and lead that we gave him; and with his load, he went solemnly back into his fort.

As soon as he turned heel and left, we hurried our men's departure, because he would no longer have any say once we were outside the range of his canon. We had noticed several patrols lurking in the woods. They informed us that as four deserters had escaped, they were running after them. Although searching for deserters, the soldiers might yet encounter Brunel, bring him back to the fort, and My Lord the Governor would have had some trouble in settling this matter without sending us to Canada. All of this imbroglio was the result of Mr. de Zeng's evasions: for if he had simply been open about the matter, we would still have been able to get through by making use of this little bonus.

We set out from the area in front of the fort at two, with a good wind, but the rapids soon prevented us from using the sail. It would have been impossible to get ourselves free if the people in the other boat had not helped us. We joined together in order to get each other through the difficult stretches, one after the other. Even though it was so cold out, it was necessary at any given moment to get into the water. Our men would then drink some rum to get warm. With great difficulty, we were able to make only 2 to 3 miles in the whole afternoon. The fatigue was such that one of the men from the Canadian batteau, named Armstrong, fell unconscious, numbed by the cold and the rum he had drunk. We took him and managed to re-establish his circulation and save him by making him walk. Pharoux, worried about Brunel, decided to follow the path along the river in the hopes of meeting him. We pointed out to him that it was late and that he would run the risk of getting

lost and sleeping in the woods. Our men told him that there was a continuous path, no creeks to cross and about ten miles. Upon this, he left at four in the evening. We pitched the tent, and as all of our men were too exhausted, we put off our departure until the next day.

Tuesday 29 October Left at six thirty. We managed, although with difficulty, to get through the other rapids. The low level of what water there was then in the river, was the biggest obstacle, so that we had to have the batteaux carried by sheer strength of arm over the rocks which formed the cascades. At every instant the batteau scraped against the rocky bottom, the sharp points of which would catch it. We did not stop, worried about Pharoux and Brunel, whom we were hoping to meet up with at any moment. Finally, at two-thirty, we caught sight of Pharoux, who was waving to us. We hastened to go take him aboard. Far from having found Brunel, he had got lost, had spent the night in the woods, was numb with cold and famished, as he had not brought along any provisions. Finally, around four, we arrived at the portage for the falls, where we met up with Brunel, in good shape except for getting a foot rubbed raw from so much walking. He had encountered one of the patrols from the fort, but through his presence of mind in answering, as he was himself coming from there, he managed to escape their grasp. Not seeing our batteau, he had continued on his way and had arrived at the loghouse, where he had had supper and spent a better night than we.

We made on foot the portage around the falls, where our batteau was brought in the evening. There, instead of acting openly, Mr. de Zeng displayed some signs of being in ill temper. We got an explanation. It all came down to giving a dollar to the people in the other boat in order to engage them not to leave us until we got to Three Rivers. The cleanliness of the loghouse did not induce us to leave our tent, in which we preferred to sleep, in spite of the harshness of the cold. We found at the falls two batteaux which were bringing two more families to Niagara, in spite of the late season.

Wednesday, 30 October 1793 Left the falls around nine, after our batteau had been transported on rollers. We passed over the rapids with quite a bit of difficulty, up until Three Rivers, in spite of our co-voyagers' efforts to help, and without them, we would never have got ourselves out of this, as our fresh-water seamen had no experience at all in overcoming surmountable obstacles.[99]

We came upon several Indians fishing on the river. One of them was repairing his damaged bark canoe with other pieces of bark, with thread made of bark, and with resin melted into the seams. He had some fine silver rings in his nose and ears, and seemed from the richness of his savage finery to be some chief, which seemed to be why he maintained his grave manner, never even stopping in his work or turning his head to look at us. In one of the fishing huts, we saw some charcoal sketches which depicted ships and a landscape rather well.

Having arrived at Three Rivers, the batteau which was with us, remained there to fish and take on its load of salmon, which men immediately salt in barrels, and which they then intend to transport to Fort Stanwix to sell. The river is so full of fish that on the night Brunel slept in the portage loghouse, two men, having arisen around 11 and gone out, had come back at two in the morning, their batteau full of salmon, having caught enough to fill two barrels. They fish with pieces of resinous wood, which they light and suspend on a little cradle made of strips of iron; the cradle is fitted onto the end of a pole, which is itself attached to the front of the batteau. The fish, drawn by the light, come to leap into the air around the batteau and even sometimes into it; and the only effort that the fishermen need exert is to harpoon them with two-pronged spear-points fitted to the end of a six-foot long stick. The next morning, as soon as they get back to shore, the fishermen gut them, cut off their heads and pack them with salt from Onnondago, which costs them only a half-piastre per hundred, in barrels containing 32 gallons. They sell each barrel for two or three piastres, depending on the catch that year. Those who buy this salmon unpack it and have it smoked, which is the best way of preserving it.

The ease with which one earns a living, without trouble or work, whether by fishing or by hunting, makes the people who settle in these cantons lazy. They hardly even take the trouble of sowing a little maize for their subsistence and raising some hogs, which take care of themselves. We saw men sitting in the sun, in the doorway of their loghouse, which was still, at the end of October, not covered with bark nor coated with mortar to fill the gaps between the logs. Instead of making the slightest effort to protect themselves against the severity of winter, they were holding their children in their arms and smoking their pipes.

After warming ourselves while getting a bite to eat at the Major's home, we took Mr. Judson into our batteau and went to camp and sleep 4 miles further down, in an extremely attractive area at the mouth of a creek, and in the angle of a bend in the Onnondago.

Thursday, 31 October 1793 Left at six. Fine navigation. River wide and without rapids, up to the entrance to Oneida Lake, where we had a good deal of trouble in passing over bars of small stones. We got out at the site of Fort Brewington, and we warmed ourselves in the loghouse, the inhabitants of which—father, mother, children—were shivering with fever. From there, in order to reach a point on the Lake where the batteau was to come pick us up, we went a mile on foot to lighten the boat from our weight and make it easier for it to get over the remainder of the shallows which it still needed to traverse. The soil very sandy, scarcely fertile, and suitable only for making pasturage in the low areas. Finally, at the shore, we came upon large quantities of fresh-water mussel shells, gathered into piles by the fisher birds which feed on them and deposit them in this way in various spots, near the places

where they nest. We had to walk into the water, through the rushes, to meet up with our batteau, as the beach was too low and so did not allow it to land on the point even here.

This is the greatest inconvenience of the Lakes' northern shore, along the length of which are scarcely to be found 5 or 6 landing-spots, out of the whole length. The calm weather and then a contrary wind forced us to proceed by rowing only. Finally, as daylight waned, we reached New-Roterdam, after having seen five batteaux which were under sail, making for the other shore of the Lake. Disembarked at five-thirty, we saw this time M. and Mme. Desvatines, and took advantage of the remainder of the daylight to look at the newly built saw-mill. But the mill-gate had not been constructed with enough solidity, and it led us to presume that the millrace would not resist the pressure from the spring floodings. We had supper and slept in the loghouse of Mr. Scriba.

At midnight, we were again awakened by Mr. Van der Kemp, the minister from Holland, newly settled 4 miles from New-Roterdam. He was returning home after crossing the Lake, having gone to the other side to look for limestone suitable for building, this shore offering only ferruginous rocks. He had finally found some near the mouth of the Canaseroga, a rather large river which forms the boundary between the military lots and the reservation of the Oneidas, and which empties into the Lake almost directly opposite from New-Roterdam.

M. Desvatines was another example of the fate of the French if they are not on their guard in this country. Having arrived in America with more than 40,000 #[100] seven years ago which, given the scarcity of specie at that time, was a fortune in the United States, he little by little used up his funds in traveling and negotiating for farms that were for him always priced at three times their real value. Seeing at the end of two years his fortune reduced, he decided to invest the rest in trade, in order to obtain for himself a respectable ease. One fine day his associate runs away, taking with him money, bills, and leaving him only his furniture and his wife's. The Chevalier de Goyon advised him, in his distress, to move to an island in Oneida Lake, which was charming although uninhabited, and there create a settlement which he would owe to no one but himself. Having no resources, he followed this advice, came to this island with his friend, and hired an elderly Canadian, along with an Indian, to help him in the beginning and clear the land. He had sold nearly all of his furniture, which had now become useless for living in the woods, keeping only his library. He brought his wife to the Indians to live so that she could spend the first winter there and give birth to their child. The second year, with his loghouse built and nearly six acres cleared, he had the means to ensure his subsistence, when Mr. de Zeng, from whom he had refused to buy a farm three years earlier, came, in the name of the Rosevelt company, to inform him that the State had sold these islands, with their lands, to the said Company; and that he had to move out. However, Mr. Scriba, one of the

interested parties, offered him a lot in New-Roterdam, for which he could pay him when he should find himself in a better financial position. Since our French Robinson was forced to abandon his island, he accepted this proposition gratefully and began his settlement anew here this year. The house was not yet covered, no one bothering to help him out, since it was known that he had not a single piastre at his disposal. This unfortunate person was working unbelievably hard to clear, to build, etc., but what can one man accomplish? His wife, however, enjoyed good health, as did his children. M. Desvatines offered to accompany us the next day in his canoe, as he had to go to Fort Stanwix to buy maize, Desjardins having given him four piastres for the skin of a bear that he had killed recently.

Friday, 1st November To the great relief of our boatmen, we delayed our departure, Mr. de Zeng having business to conclude with the Rosevelt company and the lake very rough, the wind adverse and violent. Mr. Van der Kemp speaks a little French and showed us every courtesy. In the morning, we were witnesses to a scene between Mr. Scriba's people and M. Desvatines. These people were taking advantage of his sad situation; and he, embittered by his misfortune, did not treat them with enough consideration. We joined with Mr. de Zeng in reconciling matters as best we could. We then went with him into a loghouse which was as exposed to the elements as a cage, where we found his wife and his three children, darling as cherubs. He had been made to understand that it was a great favor to him to have been lent such a poor hut; here they had to spend the winter, as from all appearances, their house could not be finished this season.

We then went to see the site of the future Roterdam. It is on a sandy plateau of moderate elevation and enjoys the view of the Lake and islands. At the present time, it consists only of a saw-mill and three loghouses; but its location is a good one, as Mr. Scriba is counting on opening from there to little Salmon Creek a road which will be only 24 miles by land, and which will save people more than sixty miles of travel by water and the difficult navigation of the Onnondago. It is to be presumed that this will be the commercial route of the Lakes, something which cannot fail to give it some importance, especially if the little Salmon Creek is navigable early enough to reduce the portage to 6 or eight miles, as they assure us it is. The only drawback is the difficulty in landing; but some jetties in the Lake will make up for that, and wood is not lacking.

From there we went to see the lands of the reservation beyond the creek: they are quite good relative to the area. Continuing our outing, we saw the work accomplished by M. Desvatines, his future house and his lot, which is not a bad one. We encouraged him the best we could. He had a couple of cows which Mr. de Zeng had bought for him out of the income from several embroidered jackets that he had sold for him to General Schuyler. His barnyard consisted of several chickens. This made up all he had. He gave us a

piece of the bear he had killed: it was prepared for our dinner. This meat is very fatty and tender but lacks flavor: having eaten no fresh meat for a long time however, we found it excellent. It is the Indians' favorite food.

As we had dined early, we left at noon, accompanied by M. Desvatines in his small canoe, which was broken at one end and took on water with each wave it passed, the Lake still being a little agitated. He had with him two men from the habitation, who took advantage of this opportunity to go and look for their livestock which had been lost for a week and which had been reported to have been seen at the Nine Mile Point. We took into our batteau, besides Mr. Judson, one of Mr. Scriba's carpenters as well, who asked us for passage, paying up to Fort Schuyler. We said to him that we accepted no money, but that, since he was ill and needed to return home, we would be happy to take him there. He seemed to be very surprised at our refusal to accept money.

Another character trait of this country is that evidenced by Briton, one of our boatmen. On our return over the lake, it was biting cold, and this unfortunate person who had earned on the canal his half-piastre per day all summer, had bought nothing for himself and was wearing only a torn pair of pants made of rough cloth; in short, he was nearly naked. Brunel, having on board some pants still in good shape, gave these to him. He was so stunned at this word *gave* that he had to have it repeated more than once, and he only accepted the pants when, in the presence of the two other boatmen, Brunel declared to him that he was giving him the pants and would never ask him for anything in return for them. Then, confident in his two witnesses, he made up his mind to accept it, considering Brunel to be almost a spendthrift yet showing no gratitude for Brunel's gift; for later on, he again threatened to leave us on the way.

Still using our oars, we reached Nine Mile Point, where we camped. It was resolved to go down the next day to the entrance to Wood Creek and go see the Indians in their village of Oneida. M. Desvatines encouraged us to do so and gave us a message for Perrot the Canadian, who had spent some time on the island with him, and who lived at the time with Schenando, one of the Indian chiefs. Once we were assured we could find interpreters there, we agreed. From there we were to meet up with the batteau again at Old Fort Schuyler, at the home of Mr. Post, whose address Mr. de Zeng gave us.[101] Brunel took on the task of staying with the batteau to watch over our belongings. This night, it was again very cold.

Saturday, 2 November 1793 In the morning, as the men from New-Roterdam still had not found the livestock, they engaged M. Desvatines to push further on. At this point we separated, wishing him success and the patience necessary for living in this country.[102]

Left at six, with wind contrary, but not very strong. We therefore had to row the nine miles. We arrived just in time; for the waves were getting bigger,

and as the wind had strengthened, our rowers began to make less and less head-way against it. With difficulty we passed over the bar, where the water was very shallow. At nine-thirty in the morning, we disembarked at the entrance, completely numb with cold. We had no small trouble in gathering what we needed to make a fire. When we had finally got warm and had breakfast, we said goodbye to our men who continued their way by water, and we went up about two miles on foot along the Lake's sandy beach, on the East, up to the mouth of the Oneida, a rather large creek. Accompanied by Mr. Judson and the carpenter from New-Roterdam, we kept close to the bank as we went up this creek and crossed it in one spot where we saw a canoe attached to the bank and, on the other side, a bear's head and other signs of feasting hanging from a large tree. This was to signal that there was a council and grand feast in the village. The hatchets and blankets, also hung up, signified that a treaty was under way.[103] Everything was sheltered by evergreen branches. Such a fine invitation encouraged us to follow the path marked a half-mile from the Lake.

We arrived at the house of Colonel Louis, an Iroquois Indian from Canada, who, having sided with Congress, was made a colonel and retired to the Oneidas, where he has a settlement which is as well organized as the best farm in the land.[104] We did indeed find there some Americans with pack horses who were coming to buy wheat and maize from him. His oxen, cows and horses are well maintained, and the clearing is fine to see; but we did not find its master: he had gone to St. Regis, a village of Christianized Iroquois on the Saint Lawrence, 40 miles from our lands and his former residence. We were all the more disappointed because he speaks French, and as he goes very often to Canada and crosses all of our possessions, he could have given us very useful information, to obtain which was one of the reasons we had come.

After getting some rest at the home of these good Indians, who welcomed us as French, we continued our route for three miles and we arrived at *Oneida Castle* (*le château des Onéïdas*). This consists of a large plateau, cleared of trees, closed off nearly entirely and defended by the river. Its entrance is rather steep and closed off with barricades. This site must have been an excellent natural fortification for Indians. You find on this plateau American farms and several Indian huts.

We entered some of these to ask for the residence of Schenando. Those whom we saw inside were pitifully clothed with a blanket and coarse blue wool, warming themselves before a fire, and their children completely naked. Their face is exactly like that of the Chinese figurines which were sold to the curious in France under the name of pagoda,[105] and their complexion is of the same coppery color. Their ears are cut, and their arms covered with figures made by needle-pricks filled with gun-powder. All the lands that we traversed are part of the 240,000 acres which the Oneidas reserved for themselves. In this part of America, these lands are the best. The plant-growth

is beautiful. One can still see the remains of orchards on many former clearings, now left uncultivated. This country, formerly well-populated, has now only one hundred Indian families.

We passed through beautiful pastures and finally arrived at the home of the elderly Schenando.[106] Father Perrot, a Canadian, was no longer there; but we were no less cordially received as French, and we mentioned as our reference the name of M. Desvatines. A moment later, in entered Mr. Cathelin, the minister that the State of New York maintains among them to convert them.[107] This minister welcomed us and offered to serve as our interpreter. He informed us that Mr. DeWitt, the Surveyor-General, and the commissioners from the State were in Oneida to treat with the Indians for the sale of a part of their lands, in order to open a road lined with settlements from the Mohawk River to the Genesee River.

Schenando and his wife did their best to treat us well; maize cake, stuffed with beans of every color, such that, in cutting it open, it looked marbled; *squashes*,[108] a kind of small gourd, cooked in water without butter or salt, and beans cooked in the same way. In spite of our hunger and every effort of French politeness, the poor flavor of these dishes was not motivating us to eat, when we saw some large wooden vessels full of excellent milk. At our request, they freely gave us some, and this, together with some very fresh butter, got the cake down.

There then arrived two métis Indians. Being the sons of a Canadian, they spoke a little French. They gave information about our lands and about those that the Oneidas had given to a M. Penet,[109] who had come several years ago, along with other French, to settle in Schenectady; had roamed through the Indian villages, had made them splendid promises of the advantages they would derive from trading; and who, having left America without paying his debts, had had these same lands, although of the best quality and location in the country, seized and sold for six *sols* an acre. Schenando showed us some of Penet's belongings, and said to us that we would sleep in his bed, which he had left with him. Some time later, an Indian appeared who, crouching before the fire, abruptly said to us: *bonjour, Messieurs!—ah! ah!* said Desjardins, *vous parlez bien français*.—*Aussi le suis-je*, he added.[110] We would never have guessed it; for not only his outfit but even more his gestures and very tanned complexion would have let him pass anywhere for a native born in the depth of the forests. He informed us that he was from Alby in Languedoc; had engaged at 16, at 18 he had gone to Canada; and that, the same year, in a skirmish on Lake Champlain, being taken prisoner by the Oneidas, they had adopted him; that he had remained with them and for more than 40 years had lived very satisfied with Indian life.[111]

We took advantage of this opportunity to obtain information about our purchase. Schenando, an elderly man of 76, made us a compliment in expressing the hope of having neighbors who were French, and told us that the lands were very good along the Black River as well as on the bay. The son of the

Canadian traced out for us on the floor with a piece of charcoal the 3 roads from which we had to choose to reach Fort Schuyler the next day.

That night, Mr. Dewitt sent us a quarter of beef for our supper, inviting us, in the name of the commissioners and in his own, not to leave tomorrow without having breakfast with them. The sight of the quarter of beef delighted our hosts. We had some of it cooked and ate a part for supper and made them a present of the rest, after which we went to lie down in Penet's bed. They gave a bearskin to Mr. Judson and to the carpenter. During the night, we were a little disturbed by the noise that the ladies made while pounding their maize in mortars. This work is reserved for these beauties who, after having worked hard all day, spend half the night at this difficult exercise while their husbands, having smoked all day long, snore at their ease.

Sunday, 3 November 1793 In the morning, we left our two co-voyagers at Schenando's, and we went to where the State commissioners had invited us. The house where the council was being held was on the plateau, about a mile from our host's. Mr. Dewitt introduced us to Messrs. Caldwell and other commissioners. We gave them an abbreviated report of our travels. These gentlemen were confident of concluding with the Indians; but Schenando had told us that his opinion and that of the elders was to sell nothing; that the Americans would only be satisfied when they had stripped them of their last acre; that several chiefs and *the drunks* had allowed themselves to be won over; but that the great majority would stand firm.

We informed these gentlemen of what we had heard; they answered us that that would not prevent them; that they had the King, or great chief, on their side. Indeed, a second later, there arrived his Oneidian Majesty[112] bearing a not very striking countenance and attired like the poorest one of his subjects in a blanket. The commissioners bid us shake the hand of his Majesty, who drank a glass of rum to the safe arrival of the French. We then sat down for breakfast American-style, which was very nicely served for the woods. His Majesty and two or three lords of his court placed themselves modestly at the end of the table. Mr. DeWitt brought us news of Desjardins' family; that they had finally found a house to rent; and he gave us our address, for we did not know where we were staying when got back. After breakfast, Mr. DeWitt escorted us back to Schenando's. Not finding him there, we requested Mr. DeWitt to please satisfy him if he should ask something for our keep. We left with our two men, upon saying our good-byes to him. We came upon the Indian Frenchman, who conducted us to the bridge of the Oneida flour-mill, where, after pointing out to us our route, he left us, with many expressions of thanks for a shilling that we gave him.

It is about ten miles from Oneida Castle to the first American settlement. The Indians, not needing roads, never bother about them. As the State does not maintain them more than the Indians do, this road is nearly impracticable. The few trees cut down here and there to indicate it barely allow it to be

made out in the woods. The creeks having no bridges, the marshes no causeways, the very frequent hills, unworked, make the road nearly impassable. It is nonetheless the main road to Genesee and to all the settlements in the West. Desjardins, tired from the path and from a fall in which he had skinned his leg on the trees lying across the path, could go no further. We had dinner there and supper at the same time. This establishment is called *Dine's tavern* (*l'auberge de Dine*). This Mr. Dine, seeing that Desjardins was in need of a horse, did not want to rent it for under two dollars, for the twelve miles that remained in the journey. Desjardins, indignant at this latest example, preferred to drag himself the next day to the first place where another one could be found. The price of horses is four shillings per day.

Monday, 4 November As soon as morning came we left; but Desjardins, still in pain from his leg, could barely make two miles to a house where we stopped to have breakfast, and procured a horse for a dollar and half. Our shoes, rotted from walking in the mud, held to our feet only by ties made of moose-wood, by means of which we had attached them. As we advanced, the countryside became more and more populated, and the inhabitants had been forced to make the road more practicable themselves. The bridges over the creeks and the causeways made of logs offered a path through the marshes that, if not good, was at least passable.

We passed through nearly all of White'stown, a settlement begun seven years ago and which already has more than 700 houses. The loghouses were being knocked down and replaced by houses made of light wooden frames, and covered with lapped boards mimicking courses of masonry, and painted with oil-paint on the exterior. These light-weight and—when one is within reach of saw-mills—inexpensive houses, have a cheerful appearance and are very tidy. The only disadvantage is the cold that can be felt inside in the winter.

We saw many saw-mills on Oriskany Creek and, on other small rivers, an ironworks and numerous potasheries. It is the potasheries and saw-mills which have contributed to the astonishing progress of these settlements, the terrain of which, although good in general, is not of extraordinary fertility. The settlement is about 7 miles in length. While on the road and approaching the seat of the local government, we passed over the Oriskany on a solidly-built wood bridge. There, the lands change in nature, and present a large sandy plateau, almost leveled, cut at right angles by the streets for the future city and starting to become arrayed with houses scattered here and there, and among which can be made out the *Court-house* (*Siège de la Justice*), the *Meeting* (*lieu de prière des Presbytériens*), the houses of Judge White and other founders of these settlements, which are due entirely to *Yankees* (*Yanki, surnom des habitants de la Nouvelle Angleterre*). We stopped at a tavern of rather attractive appearance, where we drank rum mixed with milk. They call this drink *Milk punch* (*punch au lait*). Although lemons are unknown in the

area, this drink is the great favorite of the inhabitants: we did not find it very much to our taste, however.

We arrived around two at Mr. Post's, at Old Fort Schuyler, four miles from White'stown, where our rendez-vous was. Our batteau had not yet arrived. We had dinner and supper at his place; saw his rather well stocked *store* (*magasin de marchandises*); and which was never empty of drinkers and buyers. He had us make the acquaintance of Mr. Boon from Holland, who had arrived soon before in this country, where he had acquired some patents near Steuben and not far from our lands.[113] We inquired about the way to Steuben, which is only three miles from the Black River. We were told that it was 16 miles, but that the road was very bad; that, moreover, the Baron had recently gone down to New York. We gave up then on making this trip, intending to make in New York the acquaintance of our esteemed neighbor, who, according to what we were told with certainty, had made many expenditures in his patent, the lands of which are excellent. In the evening, a Canadian named François Sabourin, who worked at Mr. Post's by the month, came to ask for our support. He did not know a word of English and was being accused by a pregnant girl. We had much difficulty in consoling him for the blow to his honor; but in the end, he consented to remain at Mr. Post's, allowing himself, with difficulty however, to be persuaded that the matter would have no further consequences.

Tuesday 5 November We were beginning to get worried about our batteau. We went to see the bridge built over the Mohawk, across from Mr. Post's, and which leads to the road to the settlements of Mr. Boon, Mr. Steuben and therefore to the Black River. Built in the English manner, this bridge is a very slightly curved section of a circular arc. It is held together by trusses arranged on top like St-Andrew crosses, and is covered with planks. In its curve, this bridge has already sagged and leans in the downstream direction. It is faulty not only from its assembly but also from the quality and small size of its timbers, all of which are pine and fir. The stay, which has been placed in the middle, may eventually lead to the bridge being completely destroyed when the ice breaks up. The abutments are made of wood and have also begun to sag due to a failure to calculate the resistance, the south abutment having been set on an area full of springs. This bridge had been made only very recently by a carpenter from the area.

We asked Mr. Post why, whenever such things had to be constructed, an engineer or an architect was not asked to make the plan and estimates, which the carpenter would then only have to execute. He answered us that such was not the custom and that no carpenter would want to work according to the plans of another man. Mr. Post seemed however mortified over the imminent collapse of his bridge, which we had predicted to him. This bridge had cost very little, thanks to his efforts; but economy in these kinds of works is hardly appropriate.

Finally, around ten, our batteau arrived. Brunel told us that they had had much trouble in coming up Wood Creek, where there was so little water that they had to have the boat hauled through the water by oxen. We left immediately. At nightfall, we arrived at the rapids at German flats, where there is a fine inn. Mr. de Zeng, in a hurry to get home, did not want to stop there. We therefore kept going, passed through the rapids with much difficulty for lack of water, and had to stop after a mile, due to the darkness. Mr. de Zeng guided us to a farm located very high up on the slope and rather far from the river. There, we ate some *sopane*[114] (*farine de maïs cuite à l'eau et que l'on mange avec du lait*), a German dish, and we lay down to sleep with our feet towards the fire. Mr. de Zeng took one of the farmer's horses and went to sleep at his own house, as he was only 5 miles from Little Falls.

Wednesday, 6 November Left at six thirty. Arrived in Little Falls around eight. We went to see Mr. Porteous and examined his flour-, fulling-, and saw-mills, which he had constructed on the falls. His flour-mill, four pairs of millstones turned by two wheels. These millstones are of very small diameter, which makes their motion so rapid that the flour would become over-heated, if they did not use the cooling device. This is a mechanism by means of which the flour, as it leaves the millstones, is brought to the floor above and spread out on the floor, where a wheel, fitted with pegs, scatters, stirs up and cools the flour by introducing air into its interstices. They call this machine an elevator. The mechanism of the mill also sets in motion sifters, winnowers and screens, in short, everything which will allow manual labor, so expensive in this country, to be spared. These mills are perfect in their kind. The saw-mill is double, setting in motion two individual saws by two wheels. The house and store of Mr. Porteous is very attractively located, looking out on the falls and the future canal, which passes by below.

As for the canal, we examined it in more detail. We were pained to see examples of the Directors' ineptitude. From all appearances, they have never seen nor known just what this kind of work requires. They do not have—it is incredible!—any blueprint. Mr. de Zeng was very surprised to see that we found nothing to admire, and told us that the height of the falls was *about* forty feet. This word *about* in a matter that must be measured with the greatest precision surprised us in turn. We asked him where he intended to direct the waters of the creek located near Mr. Porteous, which creek must become larger in the spring floodings and sweep down large rocks; he answered us, that they were not going to divert it nor open any passage for it, but that it would, very simply, flow through the canal.

From his answer we judged that our questions were pointless. But noticing that our surprise was in fact not the kind that shows one's admiration, he admitted to us that he had had moreover nothing to do with it and was given the task only of carrying out the ideas of General Schuyler, president of the Company, who earned a thousand pounds per year from his position as head

of these enterprises and did not like it if his operations were gainsaid. We could not refrain from saying that if the country has no engineer sufficiently trained, these thousand pounds would have been put to better use in hiring a European engineer than to have been given, uselessly, to an individual who, possessing one of the most substantial private fortunes in the State, ought to prefer the Company's confidence in him to any *honoraria*.

It will hardly be believed in Europe that, in order to make a canal for navigation, they have used pieces of stone to build dry walls varying from 5 to 6 feet in height with no batter[115] and banked up on the outside with six feet of sandy earth. What is more, the lower part of the canal, where most of the locks will be brought together, offered a natural and advantageous, although time-consuming means for obtaining a solid foundation, as the locks would have been cut into the very rock. But no, not at all. Without any planning or direction, they have had the rock blasted here and there, with the result that the area looks like a large hole. Inside this hole, they will build locks out of wood, and the empty spaces between the rock and the side walls of the locks will be filled in following the thrifty style of General Schuyler, with pieces of rock without mortar; for cement is unknown here. The rock is grayish, strikes a spark with the steel, often contains crystals and shines along its fracture.

We dined at Major de Zeng's, bought one hundred pounds of maple sugar from him and made our good-byes. Our pilot abandoned us. Mr. Hudson promised us that he would replace him; Briton and Newton, wishing to return to their own region, consented to take advantage of this opportunity in exchange for payment of a half-piastre per day. During the portage, two small turtles with very beautiful shells, edged with bright red, were stolen from us. Brunel had found them during his roaming along the Onnondago and was looking forward to bringing them back to Albany, as they were of a rare species, even in this country.

We re-embarked at four thirty. At six, a violent rainstorm forced us to get out five miles after our departure. We looked for a path and managed to reach, on a hill at some distance from the river, a loghouse where they received us well, and they helped us carry our packs. We had supper there and spent a portion of the night in singing and dancing with these fine people. The father's name was David Heiss, a German in origin. Persecuted during the revolution, forced to flee to Canada, having returned when peace was restored, he had been forced to begin a new settlement. His large family was handsome and in good health. He spoke with Desjardins in order to get him to buy a farm for sale near him, as he wished to have French as neighbors.

Thursday, 7 November 1793 At daylight, Desjardins went to see the farm that was for sale. It consisted of 80 acres of lowlands bounded by the Mohawk. The farm, located on the height, needed to be rebuilt. There were about sixty large apple trees; in addition, 70 *arpents* of higher lands, which

only consist of rocks and are good only for pasturing and producing heating wood. They were asking two thousand piastres for the whole. This was not very expensive. Desjardins took down the owner's address. Once back, we left. Our fine hosts did not want our money; but we gave a few shillings to their small children. This was the first home in which we experienced the hospitality for which Americans are said to be known. Upon returning to our batteau, we noticed that a loaf of sugar had been stolen from us.

We had very heavy fog all morning long and were almost unable to see in front of us; with good luck we passed through the rapids and rocks, the noise from the water being the only thing alerting us to danger. Finally, we saw with fresh pleasure the attractive dwellings on the river's edge. We especially admired the district of Canajohary and the picturesque location of Fort Plain. At the end of day, we took to the land above the rapids of Schohary. Pharoux, together with Mr. Judson as his interpreter, set off for a fine brick house, which they thought was an inn. The lady of the house told them that it was not, but that they and their company would be welcome.

Upon this, we got out, and were received in near silence next to a good fire. Two hours later, the owner came in with a surveyor that he had hired. After they welcomed us very cordially, he had the refreshments served. He was Colonel Wisher, one of the principal landowners of the region and justice of the peace.[116] We chatted about our journey until supper which, thanks to his thoughtfulness, was more restorative than American suppers, which consist only of tea, butter, etc. With our appetite we did honor to the meal. They watched us in wonder as we swallowed up pieces of turkey, chicken and fresh pork. The Colonel asked us for permission to keep his hat on his head while he ate, since *he had been scalped**[117] by the Indians in the last war. They had left him for dead where he lay, with his two brothers, whom they had killed, after burning down the buildings. Providence saved him. After supper, he took us to an extremely clean room, furnished with two good beds, in which we rested with all the more pleasure as we had been sleeping on the ground or on floors for more than a month.

Friday 8 November The next day, Colonel Wisher showed us around his extremely clean and comfortable house. His barn, built in the Dutch manner, is a large building standing by itself, with large doors at each gable; these doors allow for free circulation of air for the work of the winnowers. In the middle is a wide, planked area where the wheat is threshed by means of a roller, attached by the small end to a central post, and by the large end to a crossbar, which the horses or oxen pull as they walk in a circle. This roller is fitted, like that of a music-box, with many wooden points which force the wheat out as they strike constantly the straw. It is true that the straw is completely crushed by this method: but that matters little to them, since it is not used for the livestock, who are fed with hay. This machine is an English invention.

We thought that the amount of wheat that got crushed and the loss of the straw, which is so useful to good farmers, did not equal in value the manual labor that was thus saved. The two side-wings of the barn are used for stables or cowsheds for the oxen, cows, horses and sheep. These animals are separated from the air by bars only, so that everything is under one roof, and the animals can be fed from inside the barn, which is very practical in the winter. The part above forms an immense floor on which they store the hay and the straw from the threshing.

As for the grain, one sees located, just in front of each door, two square stacks of straw, each covered with a movable roof, held up by four supports, each of which is pierced with holes at regular spaces; and, by means of pegs, the roof is lowered as the height of the stack gets lower as it is threshed. As all the ears are in the center, and the straw on the outside, the wheat is perfectly well preserved and, thus exposed to the air, better than in our barns. The insects and rats cause less damage to it, and we could make a great saving of buildings and of grain in France if we were to follow this method. This barn, flanked with its four stacks of grain, presents a more attractive sight than the disorderly arrangement of buildings in our own barn-yards.

In order not to show any disregard for the customs of the country, we offered to the respectable master of the household the cost of his friendly reception, excusing ourselves as best we could for doing so. He said laughingly that, although such was the custom, he intended to accept nothing. We said our good-byes to him, while wishing, for America's happiness, that it be peopled with many citizens like the good farmer and the rich landowner, from whom we had just experienced their *frank hospitality*.

At the dinner hour, we got out at the house confiscated from Colonel Johnston, which the renter, by keeping a tavern, managed to buy from the state at a very good price. In spite of the small fortune that this man has made, we found no bread there; and we had to go two miles further, to the tavern where we had breakfasted while coming up. Arrived in Schenectady at 4, where Mr. Judson and the carpenter left us. We had our belongings unloaded and handed our batteau over to the care of Mr. Murdawk, agent for Mr. Porteous. We rented a waggon to take us the next day to Albany, and we had supper at the City Tavern, at Hudson's home, who, this time, had us sleep in a bedroom and Brunel on the stairway.

Saturday, 9 November Left Schenectady at seven in the morning. Arrived in Albany around 11. We stopped at Mr. Vanderheyden's, who gave us his son to show us our house, where we found all of our family in good health. We stayed there until the 12th, busy with writing up our materials.

We received at this moment a letter from M. Desdoity that informed us of M. Olive's arrival in New York and the arrival of the titles to our property.[118] We went to see General Schuyler who, as he had apparently been informed that we had not expressed any admiration for his hydraulic engineering, did

not return our visit.[119] We decided to go down to New York to collect our property titles and, from there, on to Philadelphia, where the end of the epidemic had allowed the principal inhabitants to return. Congress was about to assemble, so that we were certain to find the persons for whom we had letters and dispatches to deliver.

Desjardins choosing to keep his place of residence in Albany, Pharoux decided to spend the winter in New York, as being the best location for making his abilities known and for putting them to use; at the same time, it was the most convenient location for keeping up the correspondence and for receiving and disposing of the shipped goods that the Company had promised to send us in order to furnish the funds for the settlement. Brunel, in order to arrange his business affairs during our trip to Philadelphia, also decided to go to New York and then return to Albany to spend the winter with Desjardins. And so our passage was set for the sloop *Commerce*, captain Moore, who was to leave on the twelfth.

Tuesday, 12 November 1793 We left at noon. Captain Moore turned out to be a fine man and contrary to the custom of several of his fellows did not make his passengers die of starvation while charging them very high rates. It was just as well for us that he did not try to save money on the provisions, inasmuch as headwinds and running aground on sandbars made our navigation last seven days: it normally takes three or four.

We were about a dozen passengers in the captain's room, aside from about an equal number who were traveling on the deck. Among other traveling companions, we had Mr. Inman, the purchaser of the triangle bordering our lands.[120] As he speaks French, this facilitated our conversation. He told us that perhaps the large fall[121] on the Black River would not belong to us, although, on his map, which he showed us, it was located a quarter mile from his triangle, and we have the river as a boundary from this corner all the way to the Lake. He added that the Black River did not flow as it was drawn on the map; and that, as he had bought a square whose northern side separates him from us, if this line should prove to be traversed by the river, as he thought it did, the falls would be in his lot. He also took care to assure us that, according to the reports of scouts and Indians, our lands were good ones. We got his permission to copy a map of the areas surrounding his triangle, which include Steuben and the lands between the Black River, Canada Creek and the Mohawk, on which map had been traced out the roads already made and future roads. We saw that, instead of having one way to get to our purchase, we would have three to choose from. The direction of the lines of his map formed a trapezoid instead of a square, and did indeed take away our falls.

The other voyager with whom we formed an acquaintance is Mr. John Thurman, a worthy man who is both learned and of a cheerfulness rare for one of his somewhat advanced age.[122] He is one of the Directors of the Canal

Company, and seeing that Pharoux was an architect, he struck up a conversation. This honorable citizen has traveled in Europe, to his benefit. He observed much and is able to appreciate the great men of his day.

On the evening of the sixth day, a storm carried us during the night the 80 remaining miles, and early in the morning, we arrived in sight of New York. As we came around the point and the battery, the wind, which had driven us in such a lively fashion, became contrary, and the captain had the sail lowered. The anchor was cast immediately; but it could not catch, and the tide together with the wind pulled us toward the *Embuscade*, a French frigate in the harbor. Fortunately, its crew, seeing us approaching, got ready to receive us, which kept us from crashing. But the vessel did not get out of this without damage, and one of the wheels of Mr. Inman's cabriolet fell into the sea. We finally managed to cast anchor, but we had gone by the port. The East River was so rough all day long, that, although we had arrived at four in the morning, it was only at four in the evening that we could risk using the sloop to get to the city. We went to stay at the home of our former hostess, the widow Ford, in the evening of the 18th.

From 19 November to 29 inst We used this time to send our dispatches to the Company, to see M. Olive, who gave us our property titles; with these, we went to James Constable's, who gave us a somewhat better welcome, and again promised us that our boundaries would be run the first days of the spring season. We saw Mr. William Seton, Messrs. Harrison, Livingston and Le Veillard. We took down information about the cost of foodstuffs in this country and of the items which we could get from Europe. Pharoux received from Mr. Constable a letter informing him that a portion of his belongings had arrived in Philadelphia. Having set our departure for the 27th, we arranged our voyage with M. de La Clémendière, a creole from Guadeloupe, one of our passengers from France, and who was going to see his brother.

Wednesday, 27 November 1793 We left around 9 in the morning in a crossing-boat, a kind of small schooner, the bridge of which is so low that one cannot stand up straight. These small vessels cross the bay at all times and bring you to all the surrounding areas. This one was going to Elizabethtown,[123] miles away by land and only six miles by water. This crossing of the bay is very enjoyable in good weather. During this course at every moment, perspectives, settings and views, as charming and varied as they are magnificent, are created by the island and the city of New York; the strait which is the city's entry-way and beyond which can be seen the larger bay and Sandy Hook; the islands that one skirts in the bay; the arm between Jersey and Staten island.

Disembarked one mile from Elizabethtown; we got there by a road made of trees laid across the salt marshes. It is a very pretty, rural city. Its proximity to New York and its soil, suitable for fruits, explain why its inhabitants cultivate these especially, with the result that here, even this late in the season,

the countryside has been planted and offers to the eye of the traveler a delightful orchard.

We had dinner with M. and Mme. de Fontbonne, two of our other passengers, and after reserving our seats in the stage,[124] we used the remainder of the day to go walking with them; and because this carriage leaves at 2 in the morning, we slept at the inn where it departs.

Thursday, 28 November 1793 We left at two in darkest night. Fortunately the horses knew the way and, needing no guidance from the coachman who merely whipped them, brought us over many small bridges without guard-rails and scarcely wider than the path for the stage. Since these stages, praised by Brissot, are not suspended on springs, they are as hard as carts.[125] They can be closed only by leather straps, which one attaches, to the extent one can, to the posts which support the upper deck, with the result that, inside, one feels the rain, cold, wind, heat and dust. Consider, too, that this deck is so low that whenever there is a bump, your head if you are a bit tall strikes sharply against the boards that constitute this deck. There is not even a step, which leaves women and foreigners who are unused to getting into a carriage, exposed to accidents. As for the price, it is four *sols* per mile, which makes twelve *sols* per league. When the *fournée* is full it holds eleven, including the coachman.[126] No one is in any way responsible for your belongings: so each person places his pack or small trunk under his feet and has to take them out and put them back in every time one changes carriages or sleeping quarters, since the driver, to whom—according to the practice of the country—no tip is given, strictly limits himself to driving his stage with indifference.

We had as travel companion a member of Congress who was on his way there. It was late. It was raining, and the city of Philadephia is the one city in the universe where a foreigner has the most reasons for getting lost, since all the streets look alike. We asked him therefore to indicate to us a place to stay. He had the kindness to get out with us at the *Indian Queen* (*la reine Indienne*), an inn of fine appearance, where he asked that we be treated well. In spite of his protection, the owner seemed to receive us with repugnance, and announced to us that one did not stay in his inn for less than a dollar a day. We agreed to give it to him, fully determined to look the next day for the lodging of our friend's brother, or for another house, more honest and less costly for foreigners.

Friday, 29 November While M. de la Clémendière was looking for his brother, we hastened to go to Mr. Tench Coxe's, brother-in-law to M. Le Ray de Chaumont, one of our associates.[127] After we had given him the letters we were carrying, he told us that he had received some funds for us: but our satisfaction was short-lived. Showing us the proxy which he had, it turned out to be for number 4, also bought under the name of Pierre Chassanis by Wolf and Company of Antwerp. Pharoux did not even remember signing this

proxy in Paris as witness. Mr. Tench Coxe encouraged us to see his brother John Coxe, since the public office he held did not allow him to become involved in the business affairs of private individuals. He invited us to dinner for the following day. His wife had not yet returned from the country, likewise several other persons, whom fear of the epidemic still kept them there, although it had totally dissipated.

As M. de la Clémendière had informed us that there was no room at the place where his brother was staying, we went in search of a French pension, which we managed to find at the home of Mme. Mollard, from the Cape, at the rate of four dollars per week, and where we were well treated.

Returning to the Indian Queen for dinner, we wanted to pay our three dollars and leave; but instead of the one dollar which he had first indicated, the owner asked us for two per person. We asked him to make out the bill, since it ought to be a curious one, and we promised him to have it included in the public papers so that every foreigner would be drawn to his inn. He sensed our irony and after trying in vain to settle his bill said that we would not get away for less than five dollars. This we paid him, as foreigners who did not want to attract attention. Our host said to us, as a farewell, that he was quite annoyed with himself at having taken us in against his inclination, and that in the future he would never take in any French people. We judged it inappropriate to answer him and left to move in with our compatriots.

The more we traveled, the more we saw the depth of this enmity or envy rather against our Nation. We have to admit that this is something that to a certain extent we create ourselves, through our criticisms which, although true, visibly wound their extreme pride, and by our misplaced reproaches for what they owe France: something which greatly offends them but which deep down they know perfectly well.

30 November, 1 & 2 December Used these three days for delivering the letters and dispatches with which we had been charged while in France. We could not find Mr. Hamilton, the minister of finances. Mr. Robert Morris, another government minister, and so well known in Europe, received us without ceremony, as he saw that there was nothing which he could gain from us.[128] Mr. Jefferson, minister of foreign affairs, did not offer us any chairs, but we knew enough to take some. He asked us if many French people would come to America. We answered that, in all probability, several thousand families would come here seeking tranquility and true liberty. That made him grimace, which we found amusing, all the more so, as we knew his hatred of foreigners, which he did not even hide in his notes on Virginia.[129]

Europeans are dreaded here. The business man fears that the foreigner, newly-arrived, will want to share the profits of his business; the farmer, that he will make the price of land go up; the land jobber, that he will unmask him; the man of reputation, that he will prove his ineptitude; and the ambi-

tious man, that among these immigrants, there might be found a person who will eclipse him through his talents. In short, Americans of every station and condition look at us the way children, busy with a nice treat, would view others approaching with whom they foresee that the cake will have to be shared. That *the sun shines on all alike* is not the motto of this country. Seize everything, concentrate everything, everything for oneself, nothing for others, such is the great principle of this Nation. We were so put off by the American welcome that (we being the first perhaps to whom this has happened), we did not want to bring to the President a letter of recommendation that the American ambassador had given us. We left it with Mr. Tench Coxe, who was quite surprised at our way of acting.

The French houses of commerce, for which we also had letters, were still deep in mourning, as were nearly all the inhabitants, so that our stay in Philadelphia seemed to us as sad as the City was monotonous. This famous market of which the travelers say so much is remarkable only for its length. The city is formed into lines; all the streets intersect each other at right angles and are so uniform as to cause a foreigner confusion; the view of the Delaware is blocked by dark and dirty houses that have their foundations in the mud of the port so that one is deprived of seeing ships and the river. Not a single public square. The building where Congress meets is a pile of bricks, as is the library, over the door of which the fine statue of Franklin has been set into a recess, like a saint, with the result that the sculpture's beauty cannot be enjoyed.

Pharoux having retrieved his belongings from Customs and loaded them onto a sloop to New York; ourselves, finally, having been kept busy but in vain in the search for one of our passengers, M. Euger, to whom we were quite attached, we left M. de la Clémendière with his brother and reserved our seats on the Stage to Trenton, with the sole intention of going to visit there M. and Mme. Guibert, two of our fellow passengers.

In spite of our being annoyed with the Philadelphians, we did agree that our fine compatriots had, to a certain extent, given some ground for the hatred that they show us. In fact, at the time of the fire on the Cape, among the unfortunate victims who took refuge here, there were found to be a good number of the scoundrels who had devastated this Colony, and their conduct was not such as to edify the Quakers of this country. While here, their pastimes consisted of gambling, etc. But the Americans should have distinguished those who were respectable and not affected to take the Nation's scum for the whole Nation.

Tuesday, 3 Xbre. 1793 We got up at 4 in the morning. The snow which had fallen the night before prevented our horses from going beyond the suburbs of Philadelphia. We got out at a tavern. At noon, other horses arrived with a stage mounted on a sledge. As this delay had upset the scheduled

relays along the route, we had to spend the night at Bristol, 20 miles from Philadelphia. It is a small town along the Delaware, having the honor, like so many similar ones, of being named a city. The river is still of a very good width.

Wednesday, 4 December We arrived in Trenton, where we had a great deal of difficulty in getting the ferry across, as the Delaware was already sending down much ice. We left our packs at the station for the *ferry* (*bac*) and went on foot a mile below to Lamberton where lived M. and Mme. Guibert, who welcomed us with much friendship. We were relieved at again finding ourselves in the sensitive company of French people. We had dinner there and in spite of their insisting, returned to spend the night in Trenton, after we had each promised to keep one another up to date with our doings.

Lamberton is, so to speak, the suburb and port of Trenton, the buildings being unable to go further up, due to the rapids that the Delaware forms at Trenton; this makes this small city the entrepôt for the interior trade. Robert Morris took advantage of these falls to establish mills and ironworks on the opposite shore where he has built Morrisville, and where he has had an immense country house erected. The Delaware forms the border between Pennsylvania and Jersey, of which Trenton, which takes its name from being thirty miles from Philadelphia, is the capital.[130] We found there M. Euger's servant, and we gave him a letter for his master, whom we had not been able to meet.

Thursday, 5 December 1793 The next day, there being only 4 of us, we continued our way in an ordinary *sledge* (*traineau*). A fifth person, speaking French and coming from New Orleans, joined us. He had just made a three-year journey along the Ohio, the Mississippi and in Louisiana. We seized this occasion to learn about trade in these distant regions. He showed us the skin of an Illinois steer (*buffalo*) which lined his coat. The fur was brownish, soft as wool, and very curly. This individual told us that he sold these skins for 4 piastres at New York. (They are sold for eight piastres in Montreal). We had dinner in Princetown, where the finest college of the United States is located. The building is large, simple and comfortable; the site is very salubrious, but the number of students is not large, and the honoraria probably do not attract distinguished school-masters.

We arrived very late in New Brunswick, where we spent the night. It is a rather large town located at the point where the Raritan, which emerges into Sandy Hook Bay, ceases being navigable. They wanted to build a bridge there; but before it was finished the ice and tides carried away the piers. A European would have trouble believing that the piers had been constructed without piles and in masonry of rough, unsquared stone; and that, intending to give them an unshakeable solidity, the American contractors, so sure of themselves, had had them sheathed with wooden framework which, according to

them, ought to hold everything together. The construction caved in however to their great surprise: but they have every intention of doing better next year.

Friday, 6 December We left New Brunswick rather late, and in crossing the river the ice again created much difficulty. There are six large ferries for crossing between New York and Philadelphia; nonetheless, in this season, this is still very uncomfortable. The road is wide, but there are no works underway to make it better. Poor-quality bridges thrown over numerous creeks and streams have, for the most part, no safety-rails and are very narrow and extremely unsteady. Labor is so expensive and laziness so great that only what is absolutely indispensable is done, and nothing for pleasure or ease. One is rather well treated in the inns at the rate of two shillings, or 2 shillings, six pence, 24 or 30 *sols* per meal. Over the 96 miles that we covered the lands in general are clay, sandy and may one say bad. Almost all the French who committed the folly of buying any of these farms exhausted from the forced production of maize, regret their purchases.

We had dinner in Stockbridge and arrived in Elizabethtown around 3. Pharoux wanted to pay a visit to M. and Mme. de Fontbonne. Desjardins stayed with the belongings, and it was just as well that he did so, as the stage left soon after. In spite of whatever Desjardins tried to say, they did not want to wait for Pharoux and we arrived in the night at the ferry at Paulus Hook, where the stage leaves you and where you cross the river to get to New York.

Our co-voyagers could not bring themselves to cross, the night being a dark one and foggy, and the river somewhat rough. Desjardins did not want to remain here opposite New York and opposite, so to speak, his bed. He went down therefore to the barque carrying his pack and Pharoux's. Upon seeing that, three Americans also decided to embark. About in the middle of the crossing, the fog became so thick that the lights of Paulus Hook were lost sight of before those of the city could be seen. The crossing-boats, in complete darkness, tacked without knowing where they were going. We finally caught sight of a beacon; we steered toward it and as we approached, recognized that it was Governor's Island. We therefore could then make out the beacon on the battery, so we resumed the correct course: but the wind kept us from going all the way up to the ferry, and we had to disembark in the middle of the stones and mud of a quay that was under construction.

It rained our whole way. Desjardins had taken a pack in each arm, and it was not without difficulty that he extricated himself from this quagmire to get to the nearest street. It was late, and finding no one to help him, he had to bring the load by himself to Mrs. Ford's, where, very tired, he arrived at 10 in the evening; having done 96 miles in 4 days, in spite of all the praise writers bestow on the ease and attractiveness of the route from New York to Philadelphia.

Saturday, 7 December Pharoux arrived in the morning, the inn-keeper at Elizabethtown having brought him all the way to the ferry, where he crossed with a schooner.

From Sunday 8 December to 17 next Wrote up our memoirs and accounts. Corresponded with the Company, M. Le Ray, and others. Saw Messrs. Olive, Constable, Wam. Seton. Came to an agreement about our final arrangements. Desjardins arranged for his departure and Brunel's on the sloop *Two Sisters* of Troy. Made the acquaintance of the Baron de Steuben, an American general, who encouraged us to make the road to Castorland through his patent, and offered to pay his share of it and to help us in all that lay within his power.

Nota: Pharoux spent the winter in New York at Mrs. Ford's, where he took charge of the correspondence, planning, and surveying of Castorland. Seeing in the public papers a competition announced for the design of the City Tavern, he seized this opportunity which he thought a favorable one to display his abilities, and made two different designs for this edifice, and three for public baths, as there were still none in such a large city. In addition to these, he prepared three designs that Mr. Livingston requested of him for his house on the battery, and 2 other plans for the house of Mr. Harrison on Chatam place. Pharoux's having to await the arrival, first, of M. VanPradelles, one of our associates; and second, of citizen Laforest, consul général, who would, as he was hoping, be likely to bring news of the Company, delayed until April his return to Albany.

Wednesday 18 December 1793 Pharoux came to conduct Desjardins on board the sloop, onto which his belongings and Brunel's were carried, and said his good-byes to them. As Brunel did not arrive, the captain left without him. Desjardins had as his sole passenger an Acadian named Robicheau, who lived on the Baie des Chaleurs on the gulf of the Saint Lawrence. This individual, discouraged by such an unprofitable settlement, because of which, during those years when fishing yields nothing, one must get into debt, since the frosts which occur every month in that climate allow the barley to ripen only rarely.[131] He was coming with the intention of seeing his brother in Albany, and was looking for a settlement in a more temperate climate for him, his relatives and his friends. He offered to contract with Desjardins to bring him twenty families.

This Acadian race is very industrious. The inhabitants construct their little fishing schooners by themselves, are hardy sailors and do all the work necessary for their own upkeep. This was a perfect opportunity for the Castorland settlement; but the uncertainty of receiving funds from France prevented Desjardins from making any engagement with this fine man, well educated, and who would have been, in himself, very useful to the settlement. He only promised to inform him as soon as matters were certain, and to this end he took down his address in Montreal.

The captain's inexperience led to the sloop's running onto the rocks on the coast, 6 miles from New York. As the tide had receded, the vessel remained suspended by the bow and stern, and almost completely on its side. We had to spend the night in this unpleasant position, during which our existence was dependent on the sturdiness of the vessel, as there was no water beneath the rocks, and, if we slipped, we were lost. The morning tide finally came to release us from this dangerous position. Due to this loss of time Brunel, who had embarked on a vessel some time after we did, passed us in turn.

After leaving the Highlands behind us, we found that the river was carrying along many ice floes. Bit by bit they grew in number. Our fine captain landed at Redhook, not daring to go any further. Finally, at our insistence, he allowed himself to be convinced to go up as far as Hudson, where we arrived around midnight. One must agree that the sound of ice-floes breaking up alongside our vessel was frightening for a person who would not have been used to it. But we only wanted to get there, and it was with no small displeasure that we saw Brunel's sloop continue on its way to Albany, while we were tied up at the Hudson quay. As soon as daylight came, we got out on land and looked for a carriage to take us to Albany, from which we were still thirty miles away.

The city of Hudson, which when seen from the river presents a fine appearance, suffers when examined up close. No quays, nor any practical landings; streets unpaved, etc. etc. We came upon a Frenchman from Quercy who had come to this country twenty years ago to make his fortune, and who has acquired here nothing more than seven children and a miserable house. This man rents his horses and small carriage out to travelers, and subsists on this slim business. We gave our preference to him, as was only right, and for 4 dollars he brought us to the ferry for Albany, where we got out the next day around eleven in the morning. It was high time that we got there: for scarcely had we crossed the river than the ice closed it, and it was only 4 days later that the ice could bear any weight and allow travelers to cross in this place, the width of which is more than a quarter mile. The country that we went over has, in general, a very poor quality soil, as is the case with nearly all the land bordering the North River.

Desjardins spent the winter in Albany learning about the local area and customs. He found some favorable opportunities for hiring French workers; but the lack of funds was still an obstacle.

Saw M. de Villiers for M. Le Ray, of whom he had had no more news than we did. Studied the English language. In February saw Mr. Wright, surveyor, who, in accordance with our agreement, was charged, by Baron de Steuben, by Mr. Boon and by us, with cutting a road from Steuben to the great fall on the Black River, which road was to be finished by May 1.[132]

Finally received notice for the merchandise sent us. Upon arrival, this merchandise proved to be worth barely a tenth of the sum that we needed. Wrote to Pharoux on what course to take. The only reasonable course seemed

to be to sell a portion of the 20,500 acres at our disposal; or to take out a loan, for foreigners a very difficult thing to do. In our name and in the name of Pierre Chassanis we presented a request to the Legislature so that we, although foreigners, could obtain permission to own real estate.[133] The Legislature granted us this permission but refused it to Pierre Chassanis, given the fact that he was not a resident of the State at the time.

Castorland Journal 1794

FIRST SETTLEMENT AND EXPLORATION OF THE BLACK RIVER

10 April 1794 Pharoux arrives in Albany. Upon consulting my letters, and after examining and weighing our situation from every possible angle, we decide on the sale and to leave in two days for New York.

13 April 1794 Left on Captain Moore's sloop with Mr. Pershouse, a young English traveler who had spent the winter with Pharoux and had returned with him out of curiosity of seeing the great fall on the Mohawk six miles from Albany.[1] We arrived at Mrs. Ford's in New York the next day.

14 April 1794 to 19 inst Our situation was critical. Responsible for the interests of a Company whose main objective was to survey and divide up its purchase, we felt how essential this operation was; but without funds we could not think of acting, and if we remained inactive the whole year would be lost. In addition to the surveying, we needed funds to clear some land and build at least one loghouse. We also needed funds to construct saw-mills, to establish a potashery and a store-house for merchandise in order to be able to sell to the new colonists and to buy the product of their labors. All of these goals, indispensable for the success of a settlement, required a sum of money too large for us to hope to procure it.

We therefore limited ourselves to finding the funds necessary for the survey: we accordingly offered to sell M. Olive a portion of the 20,500 acres that the Company had left to our disposal, and we convinced him to purchase 4,050 acres in a perfect square of nine squares of 450 acres each, in accordance with our plan of division. His confidence in us convinced him to make this purchase, it is true, at a price advantageous for him, but which no one else would have wanted to give us, our lands not yet surveyed nor as a consequence the locale demarcated and our title not yet clothed in all the American formalities. Based on personal confidence, this transaction was therefore

profitable for him but even more so for the Company which, without funds, could enjoy the possession of nothing.

As we were in the impossibility of setting up a store and of procuring the benefits of commerce at our settlement, we again had recourse to M. Olive. We gave him detailed knowledge on the interior commerce of the Region,[2] and, upon our instructions, he decided to set up a house of commerce in Albany immediately; charged us with buying for him a farm at Fort Stanwix in order to set up, next year, another store which would serve as the warehouse for the Company, as the merchandise would arrive there from Schenectady by water on the Mohawk and would then have only 29 miles to go by land in order to reach Castorland. Finally, he promised us, if this settlement were to prosper, to set up a store in Castorland itself, so that the Company would have, extending from New York, a chain of commercial houses that it could use to its great advantage.

After thus obtaining the funds that were indispensable and remedying as best we could our impotence in establishing commerce through the Company's means, we again saw Mr. Constable, who assured us that the surveyors who had been put in charge of running the boundary lines had departed, and that we would find this operation finished upon our arrival.

Saw our friends and made the necessary purchases. Unable to conclude everything, Desjardins decides to leave first in order to conclude promptly the business agreement for the surveying, while Pharoux is to complete the preparations. Our worthy friend Thurman asks Pharoux if he is willing to inspect the North Canal works with him.[3] He says no, given the necessity of leaving as soon as possible for Castorland. Desjardins convinces him to render this service to our friend, and even to the State, which is very interested in the success of this great enterprise, which lacks only a good engineer in order to succeed. He represents to him that, while he will be on this excursion, he will take on the responsibility of transporting their belongings and of opening the roads to the Black River, something which will require much time; and that, in this way, he will be able to get to Steuben as soon as the provisions and baggage do; in short, that our operations will not suffer at all from Pharoux's going on this expedition.

19 April 1794 Departure of Desjardins for Albany with M. Quesnel, an associate of M. Olive who had been put in charge of setting up the house of commerce at Albany.[4] Pharoux went with them, having been asked by Mr. Livingston[5] to proceed to the collecting of samples of marble found on Verplanck Point, at the entrance to the Highlands, and to examine the possibility of constructing a saw-mill and of polishing the marble.

21 April 1794 We arrived in Verplanck. Pharoux disembarked there. Verplanck's setting is superb. Towards the south, it commands the view of Haverstraw Bay and of the Tappan See, two large widenings in the North River; on the other side, the steep and picturesque mountains of the Highlands.

Pharoux examines the marble: it is very fine and of a white as pure as Italian marble, but in small pieces. The large beds must be found within: but opening a quarry is a job that is too costly in this country. The way to do so would be to set up lime-kilns which, within a few years, would consume profitably the material excavated from the upper beds. As for the marble mill, the creek is not sufficiently abundant to furnish enough water to the machines which will be necessary not only for sawing, but also for moving the blocks and polishing them.

The next day, he went to see the country house of Mr. Ramsay: he inspected his mills, his improvements, his gardens. On the 24th, he left for New York on the crossing-boat, where he became sea-sick, and got back later in the morning. The next few days he put to use for purchases, for preparations; and with these items embarked May 2nd on the sloop of Captain Moore, together with Messrs. Thurman and Betbeder; and with Messrs. Quesnel and Ledet who, having returned from Albany, were on their way back to set up their store.

23 April 1794 Desjardins arrives in Albany, goes to see Mr. Dewitt, Surveyor-General, who sets out for him the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of finding surveyors who would be willing to undertake the surveying at so much per mile, given the rumors of a rupture between the United States and England which, if it were to take place, would not fail to arm the Indians and to send them bringing destruction in our direction especially, as our lands bordered on Canada.[6] In this case, the Surveyors ran the risk of losing their lives, would have to abandon the job and lose their belongings, their provisions and the time that they had used. He observed to him that he had already spoken to several, who had refused.

Desjardins knew the Americans well enough not to want to hire them by the day; but he was under the necessity of engaging them on this condition, or of doing without them and accomplishing nothing. However, for the satisfaction of the Company, he asked Mr. Dewitt to write him a letter containing his opinion on this operation, as the Company had seemed desirous that the Commissioners should guide themselves according to the information of the Surveyor-General, for whom they had brought for this purpose a letter from M. de Crèvecoeur, and obtained another from Governor Clinton.

24 April 1794 Kept busy by introducing M. Quesnel to our acquaintances in Albany and by looking for a place suitable for his establishment. Received from Mr. Dewitt the letter, with another for Mr. Wroman, a surveyor in Schenectady.

25 April 1794 Left for Schenectady with Brunel. Saw Mr. Wroman, who cannot charge himself with our surveying; but he indicates to us Mr. Frey, a surveyor, one of his friends, who moreover speaks French, having lived in Canada, something which will make things easier for us. Agreed upon a

rendez-vous at Mr. Dewitt's to conclude the business agreement. Saw Mr. Miller. As our batteau from the year before is in rather poor condition, agreed upon a price with a carpenter to repair it and construct a new one. The carpenter promises to deliver it to us on May 10th.

26 April 1794 Desjardins returns to Albany where he is renting a rather comfortable house at the rate of one hundred piastres per year, our house on the mountain being practically uninhabitable. We are made the compliment of being told that people will come visit us when we are settled in our new home. We answer that, in this case, as it would not be us that people would come to see but our house, we can gladly do without these visits.

From 27 to 29 April Made several purchases for the Company. Had the tent repaired and painted. Sent several car-loads of goods to Mr. Miller's in Schenectady for storage.

30 April Business agreement concluded with Mr. Frey for the surveying, in the presence of Mr. DeWitt, Surveyor General, & Mr. Wroman, Surveyor. Bought 20 barrels of pork.

1 & 2 May Moved into my new home. Unable to find rum at a reasonable price, I write M. Olive to have him send us some from New York.

3 May Arrival of Pharoux in the morning, with Messrs. Thurman, Betbeder, Quesnel and Ledet, with a portion of the goods of the Company. We set our departure for the 12th of the month. In the afternoon, Pharoux embarks with Messrs. Brunel and Betbeder in Mr. Thurman's batteau. Messrs. Quesnel and Ledet move into their new store.

From 4 May to 12 of the said month Continued preparations. The rum finally arrives on the 11th. The two Canadians whom I had hired fail to keep their word. Wrote to Mr. Miller in order that we be assured of the boatmen needed for equipping our two batteaux. We receive notice that everything is ready.

Tuesday, 13 May 1794 As the drivers whom Mr. Mordawk had promised us for the 12th did not arrive, we went as soon as it was daylight on site, where we got two of them. The third showed up a moment later, sent by Mr. Mordawk, with a letter in which he pointed out the impossibility, given the number of travelers, of procuring more. Having loaded our remaining goods, which for the most part consist of rum, an object of great temptation to the Americans, we divided ourselves up so as to make it more difficult for them to abuse it. I climbed up on a waggon; my brother and Baptiste[7] on each of two others. We left around eight finally. At two miles from Albany, my brother got down from the car; in climbing back up, he got the top of his foot skinned from the front wheel, the conductor not having held his horses' reins firmly enough.

We arrived in Schenectady around one. Our boatmen were waiting for us at Mr. Mordawk's. They had made no repairs whatsoever to the old batteau. As it was too late to think of having it done, I only had some benches placed within and a space set up for the mast. I went to see Mr. Wroman and left him a letter to serve as a directive for Mr. Frey, to whom I promised to send the batteaux back, so that he could come back up with his team and, at the same time, bring the rest of our provisions. At Mr. Murdock's, I was quite surprised to find four barrels of pork less. Although Mr. Kane of Albany had been quite exact about sending for his money, he had not been as exact in sending the merchandise. I therefore wrote Mr. Kane and my wife, and I had Mr. Murdock write him—to whom I showed the receipt from Mr. Kane for twenty barrels while he had only sent sixteen. To Mr. Kane I pointed out how essential it was that the whole order arrive before the batteaux returned; otherwise, it would no longer be able to leave.

I had the chests of tools, the rum—in short, all the valuable items and those most exposed to greed—loaded onto the batteaux, leaving for the second convoy, which was to be led by the surveyors, the barrels of pork and biscuit, with a barrel of rum for their route. The waggon with Baptiste arrived only around five. The waggoner, engaged in a lawsuit, had deemed it appropriate to leave his waggon in order to discuss his case and to dine in peace. We finished then the loading and after having settled the bill with Mr. Murdock, we left with four boatmen, two in each batteau. Aware as we were of some of the unpleasantness that one experiences with this sort of people, it was Mr. Murdock who had concluded our business agreements with them and who was to pay them, so that we ought not to have any problems with our boatmen and so that our status as foreigners might not furnish them an opportunity for making things difficult for us. They were engaged to conduct the batteaux to Fort Schuyler & to bring them back down again in exchange for two pounds that Mr. Murdock would pay them upon their return.

We finally left Schenectady at six in the evening. We were able to make only five miles before nightfall, and we got out to spend the night at the farm of Samuel Brondth. The men in the older batteau had some difficulty in following us and seemed to me to have little experience; they allowed themselves to be swept back twice while coming up the first rapid. That convinced me to send out Baptiste to help them. From this evening on I began having the tent set up right by the water, in front of the batteaux. A good fire was lit and the rifles kept at the ready. These precautions took away from our men any idea they may have had of paying a visit to our rum, and we brought everything into safe harbor.

Wednesday, 14 May 1794 All night long we had a rainstorm. In spite of all our efforts to get them moving, our boatmen left only at seven. They took an hour to go one mile. At eight they stopped to breakfast. Those in the older boat claimed that it was useless for travel. As reasoning makes no impression

on the minds of these people, I chose to get into their boat with my two boatmen and to have the others get into the new one with my brother and Baptiste, telling them that they were going to see that if it did not work well, it was not the fault of the batteau but of the boatmen. And indeed, with the first strokes of the oars, we took the lead over them and soon left them behind us. Not wanting to separate our batteaux, I had to have it stop from time to time in order to wait for the other one. Five miles further up, our slow-moving boatmen moored, stating with determination that they would go no further, and that they did not care to kill themselves for our sake. This was not all. The two excellent boatmen told us that they were ready to leave, and that they wanted to do so, not being required to wait for the others. The roles in this farce had been premeditated the night before. With an American sang-froid we answered them that the two batteaux and their loads belonged to us; that they would stay or leave together; that we had entered into an agreement with Mr. Murdock to have us conveyed; that if, by their fault, we were slowed down or if we suffered any damage, we would have recourse to Mr. Murdock, who would certainly know how to find them to get compensated for it; that as for us, our business was not with them; but that the 2 batteaux would together either leave or stay. Thereupon we took out the tent, set it up and started a fire. Our men came one after another to speak to us. We answered nothing to the insolent ones, and we repeated the above speech to those who showed themselves to be more honest. Then, the owner of the farm obligingly made us the offer of conducting our batteau for forty piastres. I thanked him very politely, assuring him that he was being too modest in asking only 40 piastres to help us out of this situation; that, if I were to need him, I would give him one hundred, and would not think it too much to pay, although in reality the voyage was worth only ten piastres. My answer made him look foolish, and sensing that he had made an unsuitable offer, he withdrew.

The final try of these honest Americans took place at ten at night, as we were going to bed. The one who had assumed the role of the honest one came to alert us that the most cunning of the four had gone; that they had hired another to take his place, and that if we were willing to give only a dollar as a bonus, we would leave as soon as it was morning to make up for the loss of time. In the circumstances, we found ourselves quite happy to get off so cheaply. In spite of my apparent calm, I was not at all curious to remain there, knowing that it was only through the strength of piastres that the charitable Americans would have got us out, if our men had deserted. I did not give them the dollar: I promised them it when I got to Fort Schuyler. With peace concluded, we went to sleep more tranquilly.

Thursday, 15 May 1794 Left at five-thirty from William Reeck's, where we had camped. This farm, surrounded on three sides by the river, is charming. View of the rapids below, and on the upstream side, a very attractive and

fertile island which would make an excellent spot for growing vegetables. The owner, as little sensitive as his compatriots to the beautiful things of Nature, has had his house face toward the mountain, the only side that lacks a view.

Stopped for breakfast four miles from Isaac Wedder's, where we had been last autumn. Dined at Fort Hunter, six miles further. At nine-thirty at night we arrived at Spreaker's ferry, beyond the rapids of Anthony's Nose, which we crossed with some difficulty, given the darkness. Our men, together, brought the batteaux up, one after another. This Spreaker, who keeps the inn and the ferry, demanded four shillings for a piece of bread, some butter and a dozen eggs. He made me pay 8 pence for a quart of milk. I found myself unwell from the day's fatigue.

Friday, 16 May 1794 Left at six in the morning. Around 11, we met two batteaux which were going down. Hollyday, the boatman hired to replace our deserter, changed places with another one of the boatmen going downriver, whom he had take his place, supposedly; but after one mile this newcomer abandoned the batteau near Fort Plain, which forced us to stop. Another discussion with our boatmen, who finally decided to look for, and found, another man, whom they hired to complete the voyage. We were able to leave only at 3. I took advantage of this opportunity to inform myself about Christopher Lange, a German tailor, our officious friend, whom we had met at the home of the Squire Venables. I saw him a short time later: but he no longer had his Sunday clothes. He was carrying a sack of maize to sow his little field, which he told me he held only on rent. He complained about the cost of lands, which he rents at 20 shillings an acre, without counting the small reserves. He asked me for a settlement at Castorland. I promised him it with pleasure, when our surveying should be done, which could not take place until the following year. Finally we left, very satisfied with each other. We stopped to sleep at Hudson's inn 6 miles from Little Falls. It is one of the better ones on the way; and it was the first place where they did not make us pay for wood for our fire.

Saturday, 17 May 1794 Left at 5 in the morning. Arrived at nine in Little Falls. While my brother and Baptiste watched over the transporting of our belongings and the batteaux, I went to see Messrs. Zeng and Porteous. I concluded a transaction with the latter for 24 barrels of flour. These barrels contain 196 pounds, in the local measure, which comes to about 180 pounds *poids de marc*. He sold a barrel of ordinary flour for thirty-seven shillings, and a barrel of first-quality flour for forty-two shillings. I gave him a draft drawn on M. Olive. We made out so well that six waggons transported our two batteaux with their loads. Once everything was re-embarked, we left finally at 12:30 and went to spend the night above the last rapid of German Flats, 7 miles from Little Falls.

Sunday, 18 May Left at 6. White frost that night. I observed that all along our route the rapids were always formed at the mouths of the creeks by

the rocks and pebbles that these streams, swollen and flooded when the snows melt, push into the river, where they pile up and make these bars which can no longer be carried away by the main current of the river, since, as the waters diminish, the force which had carried the rocks, etc. also diminishes and suddenly becomes unable to drag them further.

The creation of the islands has the same origin. They begin with rapids. These rapids fill up each year with new piles of rocks, sands and pebbles: the piled-up terrain gets raised to the level of the low waters, and then higher. As the plants and aquatic shrubs then take root in them, they block and precipitate the alluvium and sands that each small flooding conveys with itself. It is for this reason that the islands are always found at the foot of the falls of the rivers and below the mouths of the creeks. These rapids and these creeks are always in proportion to the force and size of the converging stream of water. It is for this reason that the rapids and the islands near the Schohary, the East and West Canada Creeks, the three largest rivers which empty into the Mohawk, are also the largest islands and the most difficult rapids. This physical law, demonstrated by experience, proves the absurdity of the Commissioners of the Canal Company, who propose in all seriousness to dig a passage for the batteaux through the rapids; which, they say, is a small matter, as the water above the rapid is deep, as is that below. They do not foresee that, as the cause which created the rapid continues to exist, the next spring flooding would fill in their work; that the rapid would be formed anew in less time than they would have used to clean it out, and that the rapids will continue to exist as long as that which is their cause.

We finally arrived at the bridge of old Fort Schuyler at five in the evening. I had the batteaux unloaded and the tent set up by the water's edge, in Mr. Post's yard. The batteaux left for Schenectady immediately, so as to be back for the surveyors' arrival. Once the tent was up, we changed our clothes, not without difficulty, given the indiscrete spectators who came right up to our tent to look, and even under the sails and tarpaulins, which I had used to cover up our provisions. When, made impatient by the rudeness of their curiosity, I asked them what they wanted, they replied quite calmly: *to see*. I then went to find Mr. Petersmith, whom Baron de Steuben had indicated to me as someone who ought to be able to get waggons for us at 6 piastres per waggon, and to whom he had promised to speak while on his way, so that nothing would delay us.[8] I found Mr. Petersmith in bed and very sick with the fevers. He told me that he had not been in a condition to fulfill the Baron's request and sent me to see Mr. Kip, a merchant, who was his neighbor.[9] I went there and met only his brother; as the older brother had gone to New York, the former gave me many polite words, assured me that he would look into things so as to have the waggons and, while waiting, promised me his own for the next day to take us to Steuben. He strongly encouraged us to come have tea. Back at Mr. Post's, I asked him too about waggons; he answered that it was impossible to get any. We returned to have tea at Mr. Kip's,

who charged himself with having our flour from Little Falls arrive, and again promised us his waggon for early the next day.

Monday, 19 May 1794 At five in the morning, I went to ask for the waggon but it was ready, with American promptness, only at nine. During this time, I had the things that we could not bring with us locked in Mr. Post's store. We loaded only the most valuable items, along with our trunks and the tent. I asked to have four wood-cutters hired for our roads; I was promised them within a week, and I was told that the price was eight piastres per month and food.

We finally left on foot with our waggon well loaded, hitched behind four oxen. After a mile of walking, the Waggoner noticed that one of his oxen was injured; and so he unhitched and went to look for another pair. We had to be patient and wait two hours in one spot. At noon, we stopped in a loghouse where, for some bread and milk, we were asked to pay two shillings per person. Upon our modest admonition, they limited themselves to 18 pence. We were 6 miles from our starting point. Three miles further, our waggoner wanted to stop and have us believe that there were no more habitations. We answered him that we had a tent and that he should continue. He did another three miles, and we stopped to sleep at the loghouse of Captain David Howard. His brother, also a captain, speaks a little of our language, having served in the last war with the French. In spite of his grade of captain, he did not disdain taking the stirrups from our saddle. We did not find them the next day, and he had left at dawn, after he had been made to give back to my brother one of our ropes, which was being used as a halter for his horse: this rope had been easy to recognize, as it was tinted somewhat red from the color of the tent.

Tuesday, 20 May 1794 In the morning our driver came to us to announce that his oxen were injured and that he was leaving. We protested in vain that he should not leave us like this in the middle of the woods, but rather look for and hire an ox that we would pay for, to replace his own. The villain had, I presumed, drawn in advance his share of the profit that, they believed, our forced stop-over would procure for the honest inhabitants of the loghouse who considered us to be at their mercy and, as it were, made of gold. He left without listening to us. After having asked two neighboring farmers in vain for oxen and waggons, I made the following decision. We arranged all of the belongings under the tent, which I left under my brother's guard, and I set out to walk with Baptiste to Steuben, although very unwell from dysentery, which had attacked me at the beginning of the voyage. We were still 12 miles from Steuben. Although by direct route there are only 16, our good-for-nothing waggoner had taken the longest one, which is 24 miles long.

We left at eight in the morning, and we arrived only around five in the evening, after getting ourselves lost in the woods, as the pathways were filled with mud and were nearly impracticable. The height of our trouble was that

the last people to whom we addressed ourselves, charitably had us make a detour of two extra miles. Finally, Captain Star, whose home we reached entirely exhausted, proved to be a fine man.[10] He had us rest, and, concerned we might get lost again, he came with us up to Steuben, which was only a mile from his home. Upon arriving, I was again disappointed at finding there neither baron, nor Mr. Mullighan, his secretary, but only the domestics, who, seeing that we were on foot and completely covered in mud, did not rush overmuch to receive us.[11] Finally, the gardener remembering that he had seen me in better condition at the Baron's home in New York, where I had given him a letter to go to my home and get the case of seeds which I had brought from France, they had us enter; but they said that no one enters the bedroom of *Monsieur le Baron*. A mattress was laid out for me in the loft. Upon the proposal that the Baron's domestic made to me, of sleeping with Baptiste, I asked him if it was his custom to sleep with the Baron. He then realized that he could indeed be in error, and made his apologies to me. If I had felt well, this *qui* [*sic*] *pro quo* would have been very entertaining; but I was in great pain, the fatigue having intensified my dysentery extremely. I found a driver who promised me to go get my belongings at Howard's the next day.

Wednesday, 21 May 1794 Our waggoner, in keeping with their customary slowness, arrived only at nine to tell us that he had not been able to find his oxen in the woods. I sent Baptiste with him, to help him in his search and to have them set out immediately if they came upon them. At noon, they came back without having succeeded, so that we had to put off their journey until the next day. In the afternoon, Baptiste went to hunt and looked over the Baron's mills, which he told me were in very poor condition and could furnish us neither planks nor flour. He brought back for me some wild pigeons; but I was so indisposed that I put myself on a diet of water slightly sweetened with sugar. In the evening, I had some chocolate with water. This diet did me good. The milk that I had drunk the day before in large quantity had increased my illness instead of diminishing it. In the evening, I insisted on not sleeping in the loft because I was forced to get up during the night and the ladder was scarcely suited to my weakened state. I obtained this favor. My diet of drinking water and refusing rum and *eau de vie* had won for me a little more consideration, since the Baron, when unwell, treated himself in the same way as I did.

Thursday, 22 May 1794 I got up at five, rather well rested, and feeling nothing more than some light pains. I continued my diet of sugar-water all day. At 9 finally the waggoner arrived with the oxen, and Baptiste left with him. I spent my time in re-reading a Montesquieu, which I found on a table in the Baron's room.[12]

Friday, 23 May I found myself better. In the morning, one of the Baron's domestics arrived with a letter: learning of our arrival he had instructed his

household to welcome us as they would him. His domestics then showed me more politeness than I could have wished. To satisfy them, I had to taste of a rather good soup that they offered me, and I was able to go about everywhere without being scrutinized. In the Baron's garden, I observed how wrong they were, in those sections intended to be used for garden, orchard and pasture, not to uproot the trees, instead of cutting them down at a point three feet from the ground, as is the custom. I noticed that these enormous stumps, which seem to have roots of a corresponding depth, only penetrate 1 foot, or 18 inches at the most, into the ground; so that if, after cutting down all the brush, one were to ring and take hold of these trees, they could be pulled out easily. Two men, with a cable and some skill, could uproot a dozen of them in a day, while I have seen five strong men use up a whole day in order to get a single stump out of the ground, leaving behind meanwhile the larger roots. Furthermore, this method would break up the ground in depth and make it much easier to plow.[13]

At five in the afternoon my brother finally arrived with Baptiste and the waggon: it had tipped over twice on its way here. Nothing was broken fortunately, not even the marble that we had ordered for astronomical observations. I had the tent set up next to the Baron's loghouse (Steuben). I had our things locked up inside, and Baptiste settled in there to guard them. Scarcely had our arrangements been finished when our worthy host arrived with Mr. Mullighan. Given the likelihood of war, he had just finished a round for the security of the borders, which he had been put in charge of by Governor Clinton. He greeted us with his cordiality and German frankness. We enjoyed the pleasure of finding ourselves with a former warrior who was as learned as he was kind and whose conversation united knowledge with charm. He informed us that the distance from his home to the great fall in Castorland was 24 miles; that he did not know if the road was finished; but that he was afraid that it was not. Finally, he promised to summon for us the man to whom the surveyor Wright, after he had marked the road, ceded the contract for its cutting.

Saturday, 24 May 1794 I saw the man who had contracted for the road and who did not fail to ask for his payment; but from his equivocal answers, I had no doubt but that it was very badly done or perhaps even not at all. I said to him however that before I gave anything, I wanted to be sure of the work. He undertook to furnish a horse, and I ordered Baptiste to go up the Black River road with him and to report back to me on just what the state of the road was. During this voyage, which required three days, I prepared to return to Fort Schuyler to be there for the arrival of the surveyors and our batteaux, and to see if our flour was brought. I therefore rented a horse to leave the next morning, at the rate of a dollar a day for the horse and for the man who was to bring it back, not knowing how long I would have to stay at Mr. Post's to wait for our surveyors.

Sunday, 25 May The horse that I had requested for six having arrived only at ten, I left with my guide to go to Fort Schuyler by Mr. Boon's road. This route is only sixteen miles, while that by which we had been brought was 24. The route from Steuben to Boon is five miles: it is scarcely marked by waggons, and I would have got lost more than once if I did not have my guide, so many are the paths which cross it. There are an infinite number of small creeks, much terrain to climb and descend quickly, and all the lower areas are marshy. Mr. Boon and the Baron are having another one cut that will be on more even, firmer terrain. Halfway there, I encountered Messrs. Boon, Mappa, de Rosset, brother-in-law of Mr. Casenove, and two others who were going to dine at the Baron's.[14] They engaged me to stop at their house, where I would find Madame Mappa.

Around noon, I arrived at Mr. Boon's. His location is at the junction of the Steuben and Cincinnati Creeks, in a rather narrow valley. This settlement, begun last year, already offers a very large clearing, a fine two-story wood house, with all the charms of a house in the city; a barn; a forge; a saw-mill and accompanying loghouses; a large garden well stocked with vegetables; etc. One must admit that so much work accomplished in an area in which not a single tree had been cut down a year earlier, seems marvelous, and it is this that makes for the finest praise of the activity and the intelligence of Mr. Boon, in spite of all the money that the Holland Company distributes. Madame Mappa received me as best she could. She speaks French and has her family with her. Her husband, the former Dutch general Van Mappa in the revolution of 1787, had to become an expatriate, as did the other leaders of the republican party. It is they who, having prudently had funds sent to this country, have formed the Holland Company, which possesses today nearly two million acres of the best lands of the States of New York and Pennsylvania.[15]

I left Mr. Boone's at 2 in the after-noon, making 4 miles without seeing any house. This route is smooth and rather good. From the loghouse where dwells a brother of Captain Howard up to the next one, are 6 miles of very bad paths. There is then a mile and ½ of rather good ones, up to Fort Schuyler. I did this route in 4 hours, given the guide I had. I found in general this route of sixteen miles not quite as bad as the one of the 24th, and I decided to have our workers use it. There was no broken bridge which would prevent one from passing, as Mr. Kip's waggoner had falsely assured us.

Back at Fort Schuyler, I dismissed my guide, and I lodged at Mr. Post's, where our people had not yet arrived. I went that same evening to Mr. Kip's to see if he had hired for me the workers and waggons. No workers. As for the waggons, they were asking 10 and 12 piastres to go to Steuben. The Baron, when forced to do so, had only given 6. I said to Mr. Kip that I would give up to 8, but no more. I clearly sensed that they were seeking to take advantage of our difficulties. Mr. Post, from whom I asked some waggons, still told me that it was impossible to get any this week as the sowing was not yet over.

Mr. Post keeps one of the dirtiest inns in the State of New York: this is no exaggeration. Following custom, they change the sheets only on Sundays. And so woe to the one who arrives on Saturday. I made the resolution of sleeping fully dressed on the pallet which they gave me for a bed. The food was so insipid for me that I limited myself to living almost exclusively on milk; something which shocked a bit Madame Post's self-esteem: she could not conceive how, given the good cheer that she made for her guests, they could ask for milk instead.

Monday, 26 May 1794 I had ample time to walk along the river while waiting for our batteaux. I found at Mr. Post's François Sabourin, the Canadian whom we had seen there last autumn, and Perrot, another Canadian whom we had believed we would meet in Oneida at Schenando's. They were hired for the month at Post's and asked to come to work for the French. I told them that I would receive them with pleasure when they were able to come, and that I would give them the same wages as for our other men. As my desire had always been to attract Canadian workers to our lands, I hoped that these two, finding themselves well treated, would bring others to us.

Around eleven, Messrs. Boon, de Rosset, Linklaen and another arrived at Mr. Post's, as they had let me know they would the day before; so that I found myself dining in a party that was almost French: these gentlemen all speak French quite well.[16] Mr. Linklaen is at the head of a settlement of the Holland Company 40 miles south of here in what is called the Roadtwonships [*sic*]. These are lands reserved by the State to be sold and the income used for the construction of the more essential roads and bridges.

After dinner, Mr. Boon came back with me to Mr. Kip's and engaged him to take care of finding waggons for us for a reasonable price. The latter promised us what he could in waggons for the 28th, but could not yet set the price. I insisted on having the 16 mile route preferred, which Mr. Boon assured him to be better than the other; this route being a third less long, it should therefore lower the exorbitant price that was being asked.

Our Dutch travelers left early. They were going to view some lands in Pennsylvania, on Presqu'isle, on Lake Erie, one of their new acquisitions, and had to make a long tour. Messrs. Boon and Mappa returned to their homes, I again found myself in my solitude. I was informed that at Judge White's (founder of White'stown), I could get waggons: but the falling rain and the four-mile distance kept me from going there. Fortunately, in poking around in Mr. Post's room, I came across a *Tom Jones* in English, which helped me spend the evening less gloomily.[17]

Tuesday, 27 May 1794 The rain which was falling heavily this night woke me up, as it was raining even in my so-called bed. I began to get worried about the batteaux, but they still did not come that day. In the evening, I returned to Mr. Kip's. He told me he had not been able to find any waggons and that they were asking him for eight dollars to go to Steuben.

It is clear that, according to American custom, they wanted to take advantage of circumstances. I put off my departure to the 29th, hoping to receive Wednesday either my batteaux or a letter by stage which would instruct me as to the reason for the delay of the Surveyors.[18]

In the evening, Mr. Post, seeing my predicament, told me that there was no other solution than to buy two waggons and four pair of oxen, and have the belongings transported myself to the Black River; that I would find among our men some waggoners; that the oxen, from 50 to 60 piastres the pair, and the waggons, from 30 to 40 piastres each, the whole would not cost me more than 300 piastres; that by paying my ten waggons 8 piastres each to go to Steuben, I would have to give ten piastres more, at least, to get to Castorland; that therefore this freight alone would cost me 180 piastres, whereas if the convoys were made with my own oxen, I would always get back their cost. I found this to be a very good suggestion, and I would have followed it, had our funds allowed me to do so; but I resolved to do what I could, and to buy at least one waggon with two pair of oxen, counting moreover on Pharoux's imminent arrival.

Wednesday, 28 May 1794 I again returned to Mr. Kip's. He told me if I wanted to transact at ten dollars per waggon, he would procure some for me. I thanked him, and I went to White'stown where, in the 4 houses indicated, I could find no drivers. Finally, in the evening, I received a letter from Mr. Frey, dated from Little Falls, in which he informed me that he had arrived with some of his men. I therefore put off my departure until the thirtieth, expecting Mr. Frey the next day, the 29th.

Thursday, 29 May 1794 At three in the afternoon, our men finally arrived with Mr. Frey, chief surveyor, Mr. Cantine and Mr. Webster, surveyors under his orders. We had the things from the two batteaux locked up, and as half of their men had deserted en route, it was decided that the surveyors would be divided; that Mr. Cantine would go into the surrounding areas to take care of finding oxen and waggons; that Mr. Webster would hire new men at White'stown; and that Mr. Frey, for his part, would remain at Fort Schuyler to watch over those remaining and to recruit others.

I received a letter from my brother who was at Steuben, concerned at not receiving news either from me or from the surveyors. I answered him by the same occasion.

Friday, 30 May 1794 We spent this day in fruitless searches, looking for both men and waggons. In the evening, we returned to Mr. Kip's; but he still insisted on his price of ten piastres per waggon.

Saturday, 31 May 1794 We continued our searching, with no better result. In the afternoon, I went to White'stown to see Mr. Inman at his store. Mr. Cantine went to Colonel Sanger's, where he could come to no agreement.[19] Finally a man came and promised us two waggons for next Monday

at the rate of seven dollars. I searched in vain to procure a horse for myself to return to Steuben. Mr. Frey dealt with helping me buy a waggon and two pair of oxen. I got a fine pair finally for fifty piastres. The yoke and iron chain cost six piastres, three shillings.

Sunday, 1st June We spent this day in looking at different pairs of oxen and waggons. We concluded nothing. I was beginning to get concerned about Pharoux, who had promised me to be at Fort Schuyler by the end of May at the latest.

Monday, 2 June 1794 I wrote to Albany and to New York by stage-coach. The waggoners who had been hired did not arrive. One of them came to tell us that his axle was broken, but that he would be there in the evening in order to load and get ready to leave the next day at daybreak. We took advantage of this delay to purchase a waggon and a second pair of oxen, in order to be able to have three waggons leave together tomorrow. We got the second pair for forty-five piastres; the waggon, the yoke and the chain for thirty-six piastres and a half. It was necessary to have the shaft fixed, for 10 shillings, so that the whole outfit cost us one hundred thirty-nine piastres and a half.

Tuesday, 3 June 1794 I had our waggon loaded as soon as it was day. As our drivers had not yet arrived, and in order not to leave our men inactive any longer, I made the decision to begin my journey with our one waggon, and I brought along Mr. Webster and 7 others, one of whom took on the job of conducting the waggon.

We found the paths in even worse shape and ruined by the last rains, and without the help of two of Mr. Boon's waggoners who several times lent us oxen to draw us out of the mud and get us up the steep slopes, our four oxen would never have been capable of getting out of the bad spots the waggon, although it was loaded with only five barrels, not making up a thousand-weight. One can judge of our difficulties in that it took us from 9 in the morning until six in the evening to go seven miles. There, we were stopped by our shaft which broke, a half-mile fortunately from the only loghouse which can be found on the route to Mr. Boon's. I experienced that day for the first time what it was to be tormented by the *gnats* (*moucherons*) which the Canadians call, rightfully, *brûlots*. The heat and humidity of the season had made these tiny, almost invisible insects hatch in abundance. I rested myself at the foot of a tree, waiting for our waggon, which was stuck in the mud, when I felt my whole face being stung. I brought my hands up to my face and instantly, they felt the same sensation. I look closely, and I discover a kind of fly, infinitely small, blackish, the wings a dirty white. This insect, by sticking its dart-shaped proboscis into the epidermis, causes there the most severe itching, which is followed by swelling and even at times by inflammation. As long as you are walking in the woods, you have nothing to fear; but woe to those who stop, whether to rest or to remedy some accident.

This insect no sooner senses you are within its reach, than it falls upon you and covers you with stings. It is more uncomfortable than the mosquito, which is the European *cousin*, while the gnat is a variety of our *moucheron*, but much more malicious. We slept on the floor of the loghouse, only too happy at finding even this shelter.

Wednesday, 4 June 1794 As soon as it was three in the morning, I got up, and left at daybreak to go to Mr. Boon's. At four and a half miles, I crossed Nine Mile Creek over a very large bridge that he had had constructed, and after a mile of road over clayey and marshy terrain, I found the remainder of the path firm and solid. I arrived before five.

I asked Mr. Boon to send us one of his waggons to conduct our things to Steuben and for a worker to repair our shaft. He did this very obligingly. After breakfast, I set out again on my own for Steuben, where I arrived at noon, having had much trouble in getting myself out of the potholes; in defending myself against *brûlots*, mosquitoes; in withstanding finally the extreme heat. At one point I thought that I would remain in the spot where I was, stuck up to my knees. Fortunately, I noticed a root within my reach, and by using this to get a hold, I succeeded, after many efforts, in extricating my legs from the clayey earth in which they had been held. The Baron's loghouse was for me the longed-for haven, and I saw it just as I thought that, because of the length of time that I had taken on this route to go five miles, I had become lost. I found a good dinner, which my forced abstinence at Mr. Post's for 10 days and the tranquility that I felt, made seem even better to me.

At six in the evening, our load arrived with the two other waggons, which had left Fort Schuyler the day before only at noon. I found upon examining the barrels that there was one of rum, of which two-thirds were missing. The marks on the bung and spigot were visible. I had the drivers look at them: they maintained that it had been delivered to them as is and that, as the barrel was not full, Mr. Frey had even given them a small barrel extra. At that, I could do nothing more than take patience. In the evening, I wrote to Mr. Frey, instructing him of the fact, but with little hope of succeeding.

Thursday, 5 June 1794 The Baron had promised me his waggon to replace our own, so that Baptiste could return this morning to Fort Schuyler with our oxen and pick up a new load; but this waggon came back in such poor condition that it was necessary to wait until our waggon was repaired: this delayed our trip until the next day. In the morning, two of the men deserted. Mr. Webster went to the justice of the peace to obtain a warrant for their arrest if they should be found. I put the others to work cutting down trees and stripping off the bark in order to construct the loghouse intended to serve as our store.

Baptiste made a report to me about the trip that he had made with the man who had contracted to cut the road. It is 24 miles from the Baron's house to the great fall, which offers a magnificent spectacle. The road is

marked out only and with only a few copses pruned. The road in its current state is impracticable for waggons. Although intersected with many creeks, the soil is rather good. There are only two small marshes, over which it will be necessary to construct *cause-ways* (*chaussées en logs*), which have not been made, any more than have bridges.

Friday, 6 June 1794 Our waggoner finally arrived with our oxen at nine in the morning. Baptiste left with him to meet en route our waggon which had been repaired and come back from Fort Schuyler with a new load and the rest of our surveyors. I gave him the money to pay for the oxen and the waggon which I had purchased. The Baron left at the same time, having received a letter with an invitation to go to Schenectady for discussions there with the Commissioners named to ensure the security of the borders. I lent him one of our two batteaux to go down the river and handed him a letter for Pharoux, in case he should meet with him, and another for Albany.

I put the men to work cutting logs and removing their bark in order to begin our store-house. Mr. Webster, their surveyor, seemed to me no more industrious than they, and the work proceeded very slowly. Everything we needed was nevertheless cut in the course of the day. At night, Messrs. Boon and Mappa arrived: they were going to inspect Adgate's patent, halfway up our new road.[20] I took advantage of this opportunity to gather from them useful information.

Saturday, 7 June 1794 A heavy fog having lifted, Messrs. Boon and Mappa left around ten. As our oxen were en route and our men could not bring the logs on site without them, I employed our workers to help the Baron's to dig his cellar, rather than to leave them without activity. Our men worked with a slackness and a laziness of which I had never before seen an example and of which it is difficult for a European to have an idea. Mr. Webster seemed to me entirely incapable of leading them. This was his first campaign in the woods. I was of the hope that when Mr. Frey should arrive, he would be better able to lead them and get them to work. Our waggon did not arrive that evening. This delay I attributed to the bad weather.

Sunday, 8 June 1794 Constant rain: in the morning, from the north; at noon, from the south; and in the evening, from the west, the wind following the sun's course. No waggons.

Monday, 9 June 1794 Constant rain from the East and SE. The Baron's waggon broke its shaft a mile from here. The driver came to alert me of this, and that he would come in the evening, but the rain did not allow this. I received a letter from Mr. Frey, who was sending us three men: but only two of them arrived. He also announced to me the departure of our waggon for the next day. Our men, delighted with the rain, spent this day in the Baron's barn eating, sleeping, and playing cards.

Tuesday, 10 June Weather same, but the rain less violent. At six in the evening the waggon, which had left last Saturday, arrived, loaded with two barrels of pork and three of flour; one of these was broken as the waggon had turned over en route more than once. I gave six piastres to the waggoner. In the evening, rain again began very strongly.

Wednesday, 11 June The weather turned somewhat fair. I used some of the workers under Mr. Webster's orders to make the road a little less bad, and some for the Baron's cellar: but most of them did almost nothing. In the evening, I received a letter from Baptiste, who informed me that our waggon had stayed put due to the rising waters on the other side of Nine Mile Creek, and that they still had no news from Pharoux.

Thursday, 12 June 1794 Part of our men worked on the Castorland road. While examining the woods, which are as beautiful as the soil is deep and fertile in this area, I found the European morel, white and with as delicate a taste. The stones in this region consist of large pieces of granite, standing alone and dispersed here and there over the surface of the terrain where they appear to have been carried. I also saw many stones formed of imperfectly petrified clay. They flaked in layers easily and revealed in their interior small fibers of roots, outlines of insects, and even the leaves of plants which had become embedded while still soft.

After several trials of a plan for a machine to allow batteaux to get over the falls, I discovered, I believe, that the simple play of a bascule would suffice to have them pass from the water below to the water above, etc., and would be less costly than using the inclined planes, screws and jacks which have been proposed for falls which are high and perpendicular. In the evening, Messrs. Boon and Mappa come back from their excursion to Adgate's, and gave us a very unsatisfactory report of our new road. They found the Black River larger than the Mohawk and caught there some very fine trout; but the mosquitoes and the *brûlots* had cruelly mistreated them. They killed a very big hedge-hog. In a word, they were content with the quality of the lands.

Friday, 13 June 1794 After breakfast, Messrs. Boon and Mappa returned to their settlement, promising me to send us a map of the Black River, which they had had drawn the previous year, and a specimen of a gypseous stone which they had found along Canada Creek. At noon, Baptiste arrived, finally bringing me a letter from Pharoux and the news that 3 waggons were en route. That dissipated our melancholy, for we were beginning to find it tiresome to have been delayed for so long. At six, our waggon appeared and one of the two others; the third, broken, remained 3 miles away. I had them leave again to bring its load. The men worked on the road.

Saturday, 14 June 1794 The rain served as an excuse for our men to dispense with working. Our third waggon arrived around nine in the morning. I gave 14 piastres for the two waggons. At 4, the Baron's secretary, who

returned, informed us that Pharoux was on his way; that he would arrive tomorrow, as would the Baron, and handed me some letters from my family, which he had left in good health in Albany.

Sunday, 15 June Pharoux and the two other surveyors arrived with a third pair of oxen that I had advised buying, given the bad roads. In the evening, we reviewed our men. There were twenty-two, whom we divided into four groups. Six men under each of the three surveyors, and four to remain with us in the camp. In this way, we hoped to succeed better in directing them and getting them to work. The Baron arrived with Major North.[21] Mr. Boon having sent the map of the Black River and some samples of his gypseous rock, Pharoux immediately got to work copying the map.

Monday 16 June As soon as it was day, our men were at work. We sent back to Mr. Post the waggon that he had lent to Pharoux; and as he was going to New York, we took this opportunity to send news of ourselves and have our letters delivered. Pharoux traced out a meridian line to find the variation of the magnetic needle.[22] Verified with 3 different instruments, it was found to be only three degrees 58' West. In the afternoon, he took the levels of the course of Steuben Creek and that of a fountain, in order to bring water to the Baron's house. During this time, our workers raised and covered our store.

Tuesday, 17 June 1794 We sent eleven men and two surveyors on ahead to work on the road and kept the eleven others to furnish and stock the store. At noon, we plotted the meridian and found the latitude of Steuben to be 43°4'30."

Mr. Webster, our 3rd Surveyor, raised a difficulty about the quantity of flour to be distributed to the men. Mr. Frey, chief surveyor, set it at one pound ⅕ per man, which produces a pound and a half of bread.

In the evening, the task of taking the levels of the terrain from the Baron's house to the valley was finished; then Pharoux made a plan for a small pond in the English style, which was to collect all the waters and then distribute them into the prairie below. Our loghouse was completely covered and the hinges set in place; Baptiste having finished the door, all that remained was to furnish it.

Mr. Wright, the surveyor who had contracted for our road, arrived in the evening, coming from Mr. Boon's, where he was paid numerous compliments for the way he executes his business agreements. The Baron, after reprimanding him, made us accept his apologies. Since there was no longer time to have things fixed, it was in fact necessary to consent to this. For payment we gave him five piastres, paying him only for the work of marking out the road. The Baron had invited the inspectors of the roads of the Township. Upon their arrival, we made the request, and they granted the registration of the new road that we were opening. This formality was necessary to avoid any difficulty from the different owners over whose patents it would pass.

18 June The work of fitting out and stocking our store was finished early, and we immediately had Mr. Webster and 9 men leave to go join up with the others and further the work on the road. We kept with us only two of them, to conduct the waggon. At noon, we verified the latitude of Steuben, which was found to be at 43°16'.

In the afternoon, we loaded our waggon, made our preparations, and Pharoux finished the plan for leveling the waters at Steuben.[23]

Thursday, 19 June As the Baron did not want us to leave without breakfasting, we were not able to set out until nine in the morning. Accompanied by Baptiste, I followed the waggon to steady it during the descents and to help in difficult spots. Pharoux, with the help of my brother and a worker, followed us while taking directions with the compass and notes on the road. Because we lacked a bridge and a previously-made path and were making the necessary stations to take down the plan of the route, we arrived only at 6 in the evening at our surveyors' camp, whom we joined on the edge of a marshy creek nine miles and a half from Steuben.

We pitched our tent next to their bark shelter. Their fire was very welcome to us, as a very violent rain, from 11 until 4, had thoroughly soaked us, and we had no small trouble in getting dry. We sent back our waggon to get one of our workmen who had cut his foot with his axe, and whom we had found a mile from camp under a little shelter that they had made for him.

Our surveyors had us taste a wild herb which they call *sorrel* (*oseille*).[24] The leaves are no more than an inch in length, perfectly resemble our own in their shape, of which they possess the sour and enjoyable taste. This plant prefers the sand. They also brought us what is called *cucumber* (*concombre*).[25] This is a small plant which has many filamentous roots, to which are attached tubercules that have the shape of a small cucumber and the taste. Another garden plant, even more common, is a kind of nettle with very large leaves, the thorns of which were then nearly imperceptible. This nettle, put into a pot with some fat pork, tastes like leek. We made an essay of it at once, and cooking our pork with the nettle, sorrel and the cucumbers gave us a dish of vegetables which we had not expected to find in the woods, and which our appetite rendered excellent. After supper, we held a council. It was decided that Pharoux would go on ahead with Mr. Frey and four men, bringing along provisions for three days, in order to continue to plot the plan of the road, and once they arrived at the great fall, to look for the tree which marks the corner of Inman's Triangle, to reconnoitre this base of the entire survey; and join up with, if it should be possible, Mr. Constable's surveyor (Mr Cockburn),[26] who had promised Pharoux, at Fort Schuyler, to be at the great fall on the 21st. Messrs. Webster and Cantine, each with his squad, were to continue opening the road according to the direction marked by Pharoux as he went on ahead; and we at the rear-guard with the waggon, which could not advance until the road should be opened.

Friday, 20 June 1794 One of our men, sent to Steuben the day before to get a horse for the wounded man, conducted him to the nearest farm. We had promised him that, if he were to rejoin us as soon as he was better, his time would be counted. This accident diminished our squad by two persons for the moment. Pharoux went on ahead with Mr. Frey and four men, to continue the plan for the road. We remained in the camp to wait until it should be practicable, and the conductor of the wounded man return. Pharoux met up with our fore-squad a mile and a half from our camp, the point to which the road had been opened. He charged it with continuing and, with Mr. Frey and his men, pushed on ahead in the intention of having a raft and a shelter on the Black River made during the time which we would use in getting there. He reached the great fall at 4:30 in the evening.

Road from Steuben to Castorland[27]

hours	On leaving Steuben there are about 2½ miles to the first mark made by the surveyor Wright.
9.00 morning.	The path goes toward the north 9° 0' 0".
	[. . .]
11:38.	After having gone down a little, following the bottom of a ravine, recognized the tree marked XXI miles from the fall on the Black River . . .

3rd m. A rock.
½. a small creek > N.W.
¾. A stream > W. & a creek > E.

2nd m. creek > E. stony concretions. stone limestone: a kind of chalk.
½. descent filled with muddy springs.

1st mile. creek > E. bottom pebbles.
¼. Descent. terrain of rocks. One hears the noise of the great fall.
¾. large twisting descent turned in a valley formed by a small creek which makes its way into the basin of the fall: Direction . . . E.

0. The Black River 60 paces below the great fall.

At one in the afternoon, as the man who had conducted the wounded man was back, I had the oxen collected together, hoping to find the road sufficiently finished in order to advance several miles before nightfall. While they

were searching for them, this man, named Wisher, believing everyone to be busy, climbed onto the waggon and made ready to attack our rum and our provisions. It was fortunate that I did not let them out of my sight: I arrived in time to make him get down before he had pierced our barrel, and I was out for only a little sugar and several sea-biscuits. Our men had no self-restraint. We were all on a ration of a pound and a half of bread, a pound of meat, and a half-pint of rum (½ *septier*).

In the woods, provisions cannot be renewed. It is absolutely necessary to regulate one's consumption, otherwise one would be exposed to starvation. At the depot at Steuben, we had an abundant supply of them, but their transportation is so costly and so difficult that we had with us only the exact amount necessary to allow us to get to the Black River and await the arrival of a second convoy. We had explained to our workers the need to economize; that their ration was moreover quite sufficient; and, as we did not ourselves take any more than they did, everyone had to be and could be satisfied with what they had. In spite of all our arguments, it became a kind of game as to who could attack our little canteen, and by day as at night, we had to keep an eye on it.

We left at one-thirty. At seven in the evening, we had to stop and camp on the edge of a swamp where Mr. Webster and his company had not yet finished the causeway. I learned that during this delay Mr. Cantine had advanced with his, in order to continue cutting the road. We found this part of our road rather good, and all the creeks easy to cross; but there is much work to be done yet to make it level, which would only consist however in cutting some earth in the slopes where the path goes half-way up, as no rocks, nor costly obstructions had been encountered; and ten workmen, well managed, would in a fortnight make of it a good pathway. The mosquitoes and the *brûlots* valiantly defended their native country, and the neighboring marsh provided them such numerous reinforcements that we could scarcely get any rest that night.

Saturday, 21 June 1794 Mr. Cockburn, who had arrived the day before, had already made a small raft for crossing and kept his men busy in making a pine canoe. Pharoux put his men to work making a shelter of bark on our lands; then selected the site for a loghouse and had it cleared. He examined the fall, the layout of the terrain, and sent me an express to report on the road and ask for provisions to leave and go down the river with Mr. Cockburn. In his letter, in which a copy of the boundary line run by Mr. Cockburn, which deprived us of the fall, was included, he also asked me to have his maps and instruments sent him immediately. Some trout 18 inches in length were caught at the great fall. I sent some men to fish in Mr. Boon's large creek, a mile from the camp, but nothing was caught. At noon, Pharoux's express arrived, and I gave him the provisions that he asked for. I reminded Pharoux in my answer that his instruments were still at Steuben and engaged

him to let Mr. Cockburn go down alone, as we could not dispense with *him* for directing the surveying. Finally, I explained to him that if he were to go on this trip, the surveyors, not being watched over, would do nothing. We had to wait until one for the causeway to be completed, the oxen being used to haul parts. This causeway is 60 *toises* in length, and, since we kept watch over the workmen, its foundation is solid. After resuming our journey, we crossed two very large creeks a mile apart. On the latter, named *Sugar creek* (*le creek du sucre*), in Inman's Triangle, a certain Butterfield is constructing a saw-mill a half-mile from the road.[28] A little later, we heard the sound from the bells of some livestock: this made us experience a pleasure that can be known only in the American wilderness. Soon the livestock joined up with us, and we had some trouble chasing them away. We did not see however any habitations. We found Mr. Webster on the edge of a small, recessed creek where he was having a bridge made. We had to wait until it was finished in order to cross. Then, encountering only minor obstacles, we managed to get within 4½ miles of the Black River, to an open space where we found a bark shelter. The path after this point not being open, we camped there, leaving the workmen behind us to enlarge the road.

Sunday, 22 June Pharoux made a sketch of the fall, had a pine tree four feet in diameter cut down in order to hollow out a canoe 27 feet long, for which he furnished a model. They continued to clear the land, and a path was made for the river landing.

I had the waggon unloaded and our belongings sheltered. As soon as it was morning, I sent the waggon back to Steuben, with Baptiste, to get another load and to come back with the Baron's waggon. We were very much in a hurry to have our tools and some provisions, and I was hoping that during the trip, the road would be finished and passable. They left at 7, and I stayed to guard the camp, alone with my brother. At eight, Messrs. Frey's and Cantine's men came to get provisions, which we gave them to last until next Wednesday, expecting the waggons Tuesday evening. At noon, Mr. Webster rejoined us with his squad, saying that he had had everything to the rear repaired and had sent two men with the waggon to take care of a dangerous swamp which had been neglected on the way in. After having a supply of wood cut for our fire, I had his men leave to finish the road.

Pharoux had sent us some trout from the Fall; we did our basic cooking and found them to be excellent. Bacon fat replaced butter for us, and a little vinegar in our broth took the place of wine. Stinging insects tormented us greatly in spite of the large fire that we had to make day and night. The heat was stifling, and yet we were forced to remain next to the smoke and in the sun: the mosquitoes stubbornly defended the entrance to the woods and the shaded areas.

Around four, we saw the inhabitants of Inman, who were carrying some provisions to Mr. Cockburn on horseback. They said that they were expecting several families next autumn.

Monday, 23 June 1794 Mr. Webster's workers came for provisions. I recommended to them that they make a causeway a quarter-mile from our camp; but as their leader was not there, this was not carried out. We had every opportunity to find this solitude irksome. The heat was stifling. The creek, muddy and almost dry, provided us with warm, swampy water that we had to rectify with a little rum, in spite of our repugnance for this liquor.

Pharoux made the plan of the fall and the two basins, upper and lower. Work continued on the canoe, which scarcely advanced, as our men had only a single axe. Mr. Cockburn's men helped in hollowing it out.

Above the great fall, the junction of the Moose River with the Black River creates a peaceful basin, the waters of which, held back by a long belt of closely joined rocks, rapidly escape over their entire extent in a two-foot sloping sheet until they reach the opening in the rocks of the cataract, where they plunge downwards in an impetuous torrent which widens as it falls. From the turbulence of this fall there continuously rises a cloud, like smoke, and on which, when the sun is shining, the colors of the prism are painted and even a large rainbow, when one looks at the cataract from above and the sun is behind the spectator; and at this moment, if the wind pushes the mist from the fall onto you, you find yourself surrounded by the seven colors, which are also seen reflected in the lower basin in an arc. A little after sunrise, the arc is born at one end, at the foot of the fall; and the other end finishes in the middle of the basin. The water also cascades down in a sheet over a rocky part to the right; on the left the water hurls itself into the torrent through a channel hollowed out in the rock. This enormous mass of rocks is torn by awesome crevices, mainly on the left side, where one can see funnel-like shapes, highly polished by the whirlpool of the waters when they flood and overflow. The lower basin is very wide, and its banks are covered with enormous pebbles and rock debris. In the undergrowth, we caught a yellow and green striped snake that did not seem to be harmful. The shores are lined with shrubs, such as wild roses, azaleas, sumacks, etc. Above the flood levels, the plant growth is very beautiful; abundant opportunity for plant collecting: many iris, golden-rod; flowering lilies, martagons, etc. Pharoux noticed among the rocks some granite blocks, some sparkling feldspar, and some ferruginous particles deposited on the sand by the waters which had just withdrawn.

Tuesday, 24 June 1794 The two men whom Mr. Webster had sent with the waggon to make a cause-way came back at noon and brought us some trout. Baptiste appeared on horseback a moment later, which led me to believe that our waggons were approaching; but he informed us that they had made only 4 miles on Monday, as they had left Steuben very late, and had tipped over up to six times; and that at 7 this morning, when he left them, they were not yet ready to set out again.

It seemed to me that there had been some kind of quarrel between the waggoners and Baptiste: he acknowledged there had been. After blaming him

for leaving behind the waggons, I had him dine in haste and return at once. After having an extra supply of wood cut by two of Mr. Webster's men, I sent them to rejoin their squad with a note alerting Pharoux of this delay.

Pharoux was busy with a book on surveying according to the practices of this country. Part of his men worked on the canoe, the other in cutting and burning to clear the terrain and drive away the mosquitoes somewhat.

Wednesday, 25 June 1794 We again spent this day in our camp, expecting our waggons at any moment. Our surveyors sent for provisions but we had no more flour to deliver to them; fortunately, Messrs. Brodhead and Cockburn brought them some.[29]

Pharoux continued his work on surveying, and his men were put to work as on the preceding day. He wrote me for provisions, and to urge the arrival of the waggons, things that were not in my power. Mr. Webster's workers murmured, their chief being the first to encourage them in this. They complained the most and worked the least. A large raft was built in order to bring the waggon across: Mr. Brodhead's workers lent a hand to this.

Thursday, 26 June 1794 Pharoux gave orders to finish the 15' by 20' raft, made of dry wood and well-pinned. Finally, lacking provisions and fearing some accident had happened to the waggons, he left with some workers to rejoin me. At eight in the morning, there arrived our long-wished-for waggons. The conductors resting for breakfast, I left my brother to guard the camp, and we left finally for the great fall, from which I had been 4 and a half miles distant for 6 days now. We soon encountered Pharoux and his men, who returned with us. The road was passable, and I arrived at the Black River at eleven; but as the new descent was not yet ready, we had to have the barrels lowered with cables up to the beach, along the rocks. The raft served to bring them across, and I immediately sent back a waggon with Baptiste to get my brother and the things from the camp of the mosquitoes. My brother arrived at eight in the evening with the waggon. We pitched the tent and put our provisions under shelter.

Finding ourselves finally together, we deliberated on Mr. Cockburn's operations relative to our boundary line. These appeared to be all the more contrary to the interests of our Company in that, not only did it deprive us of the fall, but also, according to this line, which became the base for our surveying, our tract would be reduced by about a third of the amount it was supposed to have. We also consulted with Mr. Frey, and decided to write immediately to M. Olive in New York, so that he might obtain in our name an explanation of this from Mr. James Constable, the authorized representative and brother of our seller.

Friday, 27 June 1794 Pharoux made an explanatory map, and I wrote up the statement. We accordingly sent our dispatches to Albany & New York.[30] During this time, the arranging and sheltering of our goods was finished.

Baptiste, the bearer of our letters, then left with the two waggons to get another load at Steuben. Part of our men were kept busy in working on the descent, another in finishing the canoe. A worker, wanting to hoist a millstone, was clumsy enough to break it. I wrote to Steuben to have this loss remedied and, while waiting, the pieces were used to sharpen the axes.

Saturday 28 June The downhill part of the road to the river was finished: although steep, it was finally useable. They worked on the canoe. Logs were cut for the house. Messrs. Cockburn and Brodhead left by canoe to draw the map of the river up to the Lake. Our workers sharpened axes and stopped up a large hole which was located at the back of the canoe and which had been caused by rottenness in the tree's heart.

Sunday, 29 June 1794 The inconvenience of not having an oven made us look for clay to build one. We dug and found none on our side. Our practice was to moisten the flour, which we cooked in the shape of *galettes*[31] under the hot ashes. This bread, very flat in taste, was replaced by a finer kind. After kneading the flour on a large piece of bark, the dough was twisted like a ribbon around a small stick, stripped of bark and smooth, which was stuck into the ground, with one end tilted toward the fire. This roasted dough was much lighter and had more taste than the cakes. On the other side of the river, some clay was found, of which several loads were brought over.

Berry, one of our men, deserted. We had to assign our workers' employment for the following day, given their laziness and their leaders' lack of zeal.

2 to dig and bring clay

2 to work on the canoe

2 to cut down trees where the house is to be located

2 to make and plant stakes for the alignments

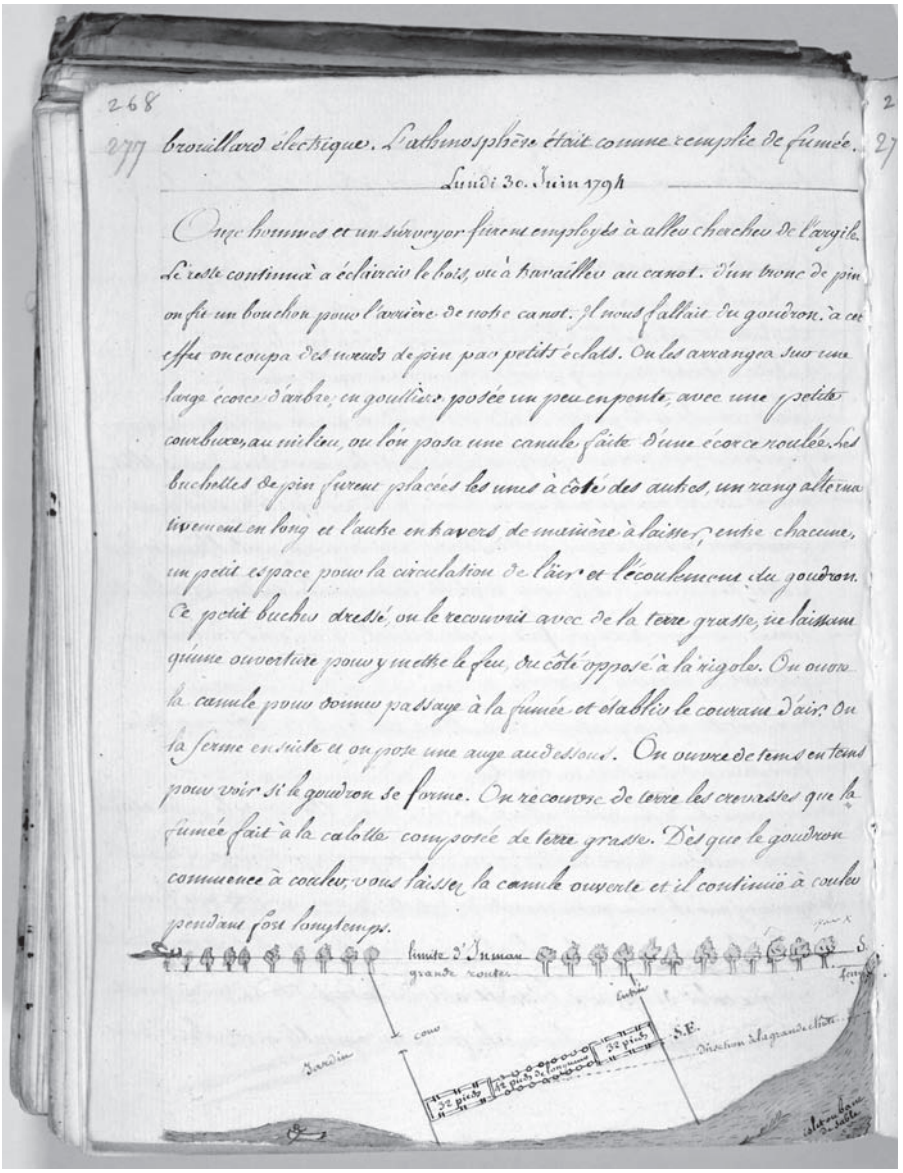
8 to fell and cut up the wood for lumber

2 left with the waggon

1 to do the cooking

3 surveyors.

Squirrels and small mice, a species of field mouse, paid a visit to our provisions. I also saw some jerboas the size of a mouse. Their backs were orangey and their belly white; very fine fur; head larger in proportion than mice, long tail with some fine white hairs; back legs very long and folded, like those of a hare; those in front very short; which makes this animal always move by jumping, being unable either to walk or run.



268 277 brouillard électrique. L'athmosphère était comme remplie de fumée.

Lundi 30. Juin 1794

Onze hommes et un surveyor furent employés à aller chercher de l'argile. Le reste continua à éclaircir le bois, ou à travailler au canot. d'un tronc de pin on fit un bouchon pour l'arrière de notre canot. Il nous fallait du goudron. à cet effet on coupa des nœuds de pin par petits éclats. On les arrangea sur une large écorce d'arbre, en goutière posée un peu en pente, avec une petite courbure, au milieu, on lui posa une canule faite d'une écorce roulée. Les buchettes de pin furent placées les unes à côté des autres, un rang alternativement en long et l'autre en travers de manière à laisser, entre chacune, un petit espace pour la circulation de l'air et l'écoulement du goudron. Ce petit bucher dressé, on le recouvrit avec de la terre grasse, en laissant qu'une ouverture pour y mettre le feu, du côté opposé à la rigole. On ouvre la canule pour donner passage à la fumée et établir le courant d'air. On la ferme ensuite et on pose une auge au dessous. On ouvre de tems en tems pour voir si le goudron se forme. On recouvre de terre les crevasses que la fumée fait à la calotte composée de terre grasse. Dès que le goudron commence à couler, vous laissez la canule ouverte et il continue à couler pendant fort longtemps.

7. Castorland Journal, p. 268/277, showing manuscript page with drawing of first log house at the Great Fall. Courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

——winged aquatic insect, resembling the land cicada, with two arms armed with hooks in the front.

——fire-fly, very bright in the summer evenings. It is of the small species of *Scarabaeus*. Its color is grey. It is its rear section (which looks yellowish when seen in daylight) which casts a phosphorescent light. When it flies, it traces in the air a pretty line of fire which, given the rapidity of the movement, is brighter than that of our glow-worms. There is a large number of these, and it makes for an attractive spectacle. In the evening, electric fog.[32] The atmosphere was as if filled with smoke.

Monday, 30 June 1794[33] Eleven men and a surveyor were put to work searching for clay. The rest continued to clear the wood or to work on the canoe. Out of the trunk of a pine tree, they made a plug for the back of our canoe.

We needed some tar. To this end some pine knots were cut up into small pieces. They were arranged on a large piece of bark, which served as a gutter, slightly sloping, with a small bend in the middle, where a drain, made up of rolled up piece of bark, was placed. The small pine logs were placed next to each other, one row down and the other across, alternatively, so as to allow, between each one, a small space for the air to circulate and the tar to flow. When this small pyre was set up, it was covered over with clayey earth, leaving only a single opening for lighting the fire on the side opposite the channel. The drain is opened to allow smoke to escape and create a flow of air. It is then closed and a trough is placed below. From time to time it is opened to see if tar is forming. Earth is used to stop up the fissures that the smoke makes in the calotte[34] of wet earth. As soon as the tar begins to flow, you leave the drain open, and it continues to flow for a very long time.

The final design of our loghouse was decided upon. Two loghouses, each 34 feet by 20 on the outside, and a gallery made of posts, 42 feet in length, which will link them. We decided on this design, as this gallery would in bad weather serve to keep our men at work under shelter and in front of us. Of these two loghouses, one was to be used for the Company, and the other for the family that would be stationed there, to watch over the goods, take care of the livestock, and keep the *ferry* (*bac*). See the map opposite.[35]

In the evening, Baptiste arrived with the two waggons loaded with provisions. We had only enough flour for one day. All our lumber having been cut, we decided to employ Mr. Webster and his men the next day in verifying Inman's boundary line, this line being the base of our operation.

We had this day a violent heat and a storm in the evening. We observed a large fly which bites with its pincers and a nocturnal butterfly of the species of the peacock butterfly.[36] From Steuben, seeds and garden plants were brought. We found on our land many wild cherry trees, wild vine and ivy.[37]

Tuesday, first of July, 1794 The goods from 2 waggons were unloaded. Some men were sent to look for stones near the fall to build an oven and a hearth; others cut some wood and tarred the canoe. Mr. Webster, charged

with verifying Inman's boundaries, came back and made his report, that there was an error at the very location of the fall, which error could only be attributed to the local variation of the compass. Upon this report, Messrs. Pharoux, Frey and Cantine made a second verification. The fact was confirmed.

This variation of five degrees East,*[38] solely at the site of the fall, can be attributed only to the attraction of the ferruginous particles that the rock is recognized to contain.

Pharoux then crossed the river and examined the small portion of land above the fall: as the bearing of the line leaves it to us, this portion of land belongs to the Company. The terrain, low near the river, rises almost immediately into an abrupt escarpment. Woods of hemlock, pines, etc. Soil mediocre. The water of the Black River, held back by the fall, is calm and reflects like a mirror the surrounding objects. Pharoux saw in a marshy terrain the *Tamarac* (*baumier du Canada*),[39] a tree precious for the healing and cough-easing qualitities of its balm. This tree, of the fir species, is straight, slender, commonly small, arrayed with radiating branches from the bottom of its trunk, and maintains a pyramid shape, the lower branches drying out as it grows. Its leaves resemble a bit those of the yew. Scattered over its bark are tubers or vesicles which are covered over with a grayish, finer skin. If these vesicles are pricked, the balm flows out from them. During the full moon, the liquid, being more dilated, spurts out when the smooth bark of the vesicle bursts. The best way to preserve this balm is to remove that portion of the bark where the vesicles are found, from which the balm can be drawn whenever one wishes. This balm, which the Indians use for venereal diseases, is also very beneficial for diseases of the chest. In Europe it is known under the name of *baume blanc* or *baume du Canada*.[40]

The canoe was finally finished and launched into the water. It is 24 feet long and three feet wide, and can carry twelve barrels. More tar was made, and it was made thoroughly watertight. Two pair of oxen were brought over the river. The third had got lost and was looked for without success.

Above the fall, an Indian cabin was found. Next to it was a beaver's jaw-bone, of which the two front teeth, of a fine ivory, and curving almost into a circle, proved to us the worth of the tools with which this industrious animal had been furnished.

Gave Mr. Webster provisions for 4 days, charging him with surveying the part of our terrain between the nine mile line and the Black River: we indicated to him the rendez-vous at the end of this line.

Mr. Webster had a dangerous turn of mind. He did not cease from encouraging and fomenting complaints and laziness among the men. He conducted himself so badly and had shown us so much ill will, that this reason forced us rather to make him set out in advance, to keep his restive spirit busy. Pharoux threatened to dismiss him; Mr. Frey, his leader, reprimanded him, and as he saw that the two other surveyors were against him, he promised to do better. He had been recommended to us by Mr. Dewitt. We threatened him that we would inform him of his conduct, and said that it was only out of respect for

him that we did not fire him on the spot. Our real reason was the lowness of our funds, which had been used up in the long delays and the purchase of the oxen and waggons. This penury made us lose much time, and caused us many losses and annoyances.

Wednesday, 2 July 1794 Pharoux gave in writing the directive and instructions for the survey; he translated Messrs. Brodhead's & Cockburn's fieldbooks regarding Inman's boundaries. He set rendez-vous for every third line, and while our three surveyors were to conduct three lines abreast, he took on, with the help of his men, the responsibility of plotting the river's course as they went downriver bringing the supplies. One could not devise a more advantageous plan for advancing the work, for encouraging the surveyors, and for making use of the fewest possible men.

Four logs were cut for the oven, its foundation laid.

Mr. Frey, Cantine, as well as their men, made ready their departure for the next day. Two men who had been sent to look for the pair of lost oxen found them near Sugar Creek, 9 miles from Castorland. These oxen had taken up the road to Steuben again. In the evening, thunder and heavy rain.

Thursday, 3 July 1794 Messrs. Frey and Cantine, upon receiving provisions for four days, left to begin, finally, the survey. Here is the distribution of our men:

Mr. Frey and four men 5
Mr. Cantine and four men 5
Mr. Webster and four men 5
Mr. Pharoux and 2 men to follow with the boat and provisions 3
Messrs. Desjardins with Baptiste and five men to build the loghouse, clear land, and send the waggon for provisions 8
Total 26

Of this number, eighteen were used for the survey. Following our rule for rationing, one barrel of rum, two barrels of pork and three barrels of flour would be needed to feed these eighteen persons for one month.

Plan for an American oven in the woods

On a floor made of large logs, a flat surface is made with a row of smaller ones and a bed of sandy earth well packed. With a row or two of large stones you then make a circle, its inside diameter three feet, and then several rows of flat stones are added, the whole being covered over with clay, care being taken to leave a door. To form the cap,[41] the inside is filled up with sand and shavings of dry wood and a small dome is built up. Then fine clay, mixed with a little water, is spread on top to a thickness of 6 inches. On this is again added a second layer of ordinary earth, mixed with water and packed down with a paddle. After this, once the sand and wood shavings are removed from the inside, you fire the clay cap[42] by maintaining a fire in

the oven for three days. If during the firing the earth splits, the cracks must be carefully stopped up with clay.

Our oxen, combined, hauled timbers to the site for the loghouse which was beginning to be raised. We succeeded with difficulty in convincing the 5 men to remain at the settlement. They all preferred to go on the survey, counting on seeing the countryside and having no other trouble but that of walking, while they foresaw that, with us watching over them, those who should remain would be forced to work. Finally, although quite grudgingly, they made the decision to stay. Heavy rain in the evening.

Friday, 4 July The work of bringing in logs and assembling the loghouse was continued. The remaining men, having said that they would be willing to make *shingles* (*aissis ou bardeau*) to cover it—these being preferable to bark—I kept Baptiste busy in assembling the large saw to cut up the pine trees. Pharoux, with my brother and two men, made a map and took the levels of the great fall and the basins. The total height of the fall is 63 English feet. He then made ready his departure. I had two large pine trees suitable for making shingles felled. The river is rising two feet almost all of a sudden. The fall offers a magnificent sight.

Saturday, 5 July 1794 As soon as it was morning, I sent the waggon to Steuben, with six oxen and two men. At 11 Pharoux left with the batteau and two rowers, taking along provisions. He saw a water-snake and caught a rather large turtle weighing 24 pounds. At one, he met Mr. Cockburn's men, who were returning. At seven in the evening, he arrived at Messrs. Frey's and Webster's camp, after plotting the river's course as he went down it. There he found out that Mr. Webster had not surveyed along Inman's as he had been charged to do. The bad weather was his excuse; we had to accept this and postpone until another time the detailing of this area. Mr. Cantine was encamped below.

Settlement. As we now had only three workers, which was not sufficient to assemble the parts of the loghouse, I kept them busy making shingles. In the afternoon, someone called out from the opposite shore: it was the worker who had been wounded while leaving Steuben. He was returning, healed, and was bringing us a horse at the rate of three dollars per month, or thirty to purchase. We had asked for this horse, in the eventuality that it would be necessary to transport supplies through the woods. Baptiste was kept busy enclosing the small garden with some dry hedges.

Sunday, 6 July. Survey Pharoux distributed two days of provisions to his two men and to the Frey and Webster companies. The turtle was prepared, and was found to be very good. It has three kinds of flesh, which are similar to those of fish, veal and chicken. Pharoux went to reconnoitre the mouth of a small river which had been named Independence River, since it had been discovered on 4 July, the anniversary of American independence. Near the juncture is a very vast, isolated rock, which forms a natural quay, and on the

plateau of which is found a very picturesque site to locate a residence, enjoying a very beautiful view of the course that the Black River makes, and of the large natural meadows of the Indepency's Creek.[43] Near the camp is found another section of natural meadow, its grass excellent for horses. Americans call it *horse's grass*.[44]

Saw two Indian tombs on the plateau of Independence Rock. The Indians plant a stake to the right of the head of the dead man and bury him in the bark of his canoe. Each year the children come to bring food to the place where their fathers have been buried. One of the tombs had caved in. In the earth several sticks for stretching skins could be seen, the remains of the canoe, etc., with two forks for carrying it. There could also be seen, near the spot where the dead man's head is positioned, a place for the fire which was lit so that the soul would come warm itself there while eating the food placed nearby.

The Missisaguas Indians, the same as those named by the French the *Sauteurs* because of the Saut Ste. Marie near which they live, believe that the earth is carried on the back of a large turtle, that its daily movement is caused by that of the turtle who takes one year to make the round of the Zodiac: so that here we find Indians who well before Copernicus have divined the course of the earth.[45]

In the entrance to a small creek we found a bark canoe. The Indians leave them in this way in storage in the areas where they customarily return every year for the hunting or fishing season.

At 5 left in the large canoe to go join up with Mr. Frey two miles lower down. Continued the plotting of the river up to his camp.

Settlement. The three men made shingles. I estimated that the quantity needed was six thousand. Baptiste finished the enclosure for the little garden with hedges.

Around ten in the morning, someone called out from the other side. It was two inhabitants from King'stown on Lake Ontario. These people, trusting to a guide, had undertaken to travel through the woods, from the entrance of the Saint Lawrence to Fort Stanwix, to conduct there some livestock that they had presumed they could sell there at a better price than in Canada. Their guide had got them lost. They had been marching for 36 days; and for 20, they had survived only on the milk of their cows. Nearly dying of hunger, they had left their comrade, who no longer had the strength to walk, two miles behind them. They had made the decision to follow the river, hoping that it would lead them to a settlement. Mr. Cockburn, whom they had met, could not give them any food, but he informed them that by continuing to go up, they would find us at a large fall.[46] This hope revived their courage. Pharoux, whom they saw yesterday as he went down by canoe, had given them the bread that he had and a note for us. We therefore had them eat with caution, and we sent someone in a canoe to bring help to the one left behind, who, ill from nothing but hunger, was soon able to rejoin his companions. We bought from them a cow for sixteen piastres, and two sheep at a dollar apiece. They gave us a

flattering account of the beauty of our lands, nearly all of which they had crossed through. After they had got well rested, we showed them the road to Fort Stanwix and gave them enough food to reach the first residence. They were thoroughly surprised at our refusal to take their money. We told them that it was a loan that we had made them for the benefit of the first person that they should meet who needed help. Finally, they left us very satisfied, promising us to make known in Canada our settlement and the new road that we were intending to open in order to establish communication with their country. The two King'stown inhabitants were named John Seeclair and Christopher Hedgeworm, settled in Cataracouy, near the city of King'stown.

Monday, 7 July 1794 *Survey*. Agreed that Pharoux would go sleep tonight at Mr. Cantine's camp, from where he would send two days provisions to Mr. Frey; that he would stay at least two days at this encampment; that from there he would write Mr. Frey to join up with him with the Indian canoe, which he would send someone to get for this purpose.

At six-thirty Pharoux leaves to continue the plotting of the river as he descends. At seven he meets up with Mr. Frey who was busy tracing line 3 and 4. At one, held up by heavy rain. Dries out his instruments. Camped between line 5 and 6. In the evening, distributed two days' provisions to all the men. The river having risen in the night and the canoe not having been unloaded, it was found filled with water. Pharoux's maps, clothes, books and instruments were saturated. His few provisions of sugar, coffee, etc. were lost, and this accident caused him much trouble, especially in getting his papers and books dry.

Settlement. The hoeing of the small garden was finished, it was sown and planted. It has only a cord and a half of terrain but is sufficient for this year.[47] In the afternoon, two road inspectors from the Township came to see us. They appeared satisfied with the road that we had opened, and then asked us for something to eat as payment. We told them that we were not keeping an inn, and that they could share our supper, consisting of fat pork and *galettes* cooked in the ashes. To augment the rations, which they considered slight, they went off to fish: but they caught nothing. There then arrived a former servant of the Baron's, who offered, he and his wife, to serve us and watch over our settlement during the winter. These visitors imagined that they could regale themselves at our expense; but seeing that the rations were so frugal, they never again took the trouble to come from so far away.

Tuesday, 8 July 1794 *Survey*. Pharoux gave provisions to Mr. Webster to last until Friday, and was kept busy in drying out his belongings.

Mr. Frey was employed in drawing the shape and outline of the peninsula to the right of lines 3 and 4.

Mr. Webster, in finishing line 4 and beginning line 7.

Mr. Cantine, in drawing line 5 and in continuing the prolongation of the cardinal line N beyond the five miles, which line he had drawn previously.

Received a letter from Mr. Frey informing us of the sickness of Mac William, one of his men. Pharoux sent the canoe to get him and meeting Mr. Cockburn's men who were going up by canoe, he took advantage of this opportunity to transport Mac William and to write Desjardins a letter in which he asks that provisions be sent by this same canoe, at our disposal for several days.

Caught some crayfish resembling those of Europe. Found some lilies, scarlet color, up to seven flowers on one branch.

Settlement. Our visitors left as soon as it was morning. Our worker, back for two days, left with them. He had had quite a bit of difficulty in hoeing a cord and a half in two days, and on seeing that he had to choose to work, he preferred to leave.[48] I considered that as so many fewer useless mouths. In the evening, our waggon arrived from Steuben. Our men made shingles. The net was stretched out, and we caught some white fish. My brother brought us a small wounded trout, half dead, that a large crayfish was dragging to its lair.

Wednesday, 9 July 1794 *Survey*. Pharoux goes on ahead to reconnoitre the river's course. At six miles in descending, the Black River makes a large peninsula in its winding. These six miles were traveled in one hour, three quarters, in going down; and to go back up, using both paddle and hook, we needed three hours and one quarter. Storm, quite violent.

Mr. Frey came in the evening: As his company had eaten up all of its provisions *inadvertently*, thinking that they had received a delivery for two days only, I gave new provisions to Mr. Frey.

Mr. Cantine is continuing line 5 and 6.

Mr. Webster leaves in the evening to mark the 7, 8 and 9.

Observation. In one hour three quarters, having made six miles of river course in going down in the large canoe, loaded only with myself and little Jacques, with the help of the current and a very light movement of the paddle, it is 17 minutes 30 seconds per mile for the average course of the river, and 13 seconds ⅝ per chain.

But in order to make an easy estimate, one can calculate this motion at 20' per mile and 15' per chain. Accordingly, one makes 4 chains per minute on average.

Settlement. The load from the waggon which had arrived the day before was taken down, the items brought and covered as well as one could under a shelter of branches that Baptiste had set up. The rain from the storm interrupted the work. In the afternoon, work of making shingles was continued. Baptiste killed a hare and a *plongeur*.[49]

Thursday, 10 July 1794 *Survey*. Mr. Cantine arrived in the morning: he receives provisions to last until the 23rd. After breakfasting and baking his bread, he leaves around 11 to trace out line 9 and 10.

Mr. Frey leaves at the same time to plot the river's course.

Mr. Webster busy with line 7 and 8.

Left with Jacques and a sick man, and brought along the two canoes, after having set a rendez-vous in the neighborhood of the 10th line, around 12 miles further down following the course of the river. Agreed with Mr. Frey that I would send him his provisions Saturday morning. Agreed that we would all meet on Sundays, in the neighborhood of the 10th line, to make a fair copy of the maps and fieldbooks. Checked the end of lines 6 and 7, the first done by Mr. Cantine, the second by Mr. Webster. At 6, arrive at a point that the river makes a little further down from an easily distinguished pile of dead trees, and where I set up camp.

Lizard similar to the water one, 5 inches long, color brown, speckled with small yellow dots.

Settlement. To make shingles, a very large white pine was cut down and sawed up. At noon, we saw Mr. Cockburn's canoe arrive, which canoe had been sent us by Pharoux. Mac William had taken advantage of it to leave, as he had been attacked by the gout: this reduced the number of our men to 18. Pharoux wrote us to send him provisions by the small canoe. Mr. Cockburn's men, having come upon a lost and wounded sheep belonging to the flock of our starving friends, sold it to our people for a bottle of rum. These latter killed this animal, whose entire thigh was devoured by worms. But they did not find it any less good for that. Mr. Cockburn's employees left again at 3 with Mac William.

Friday, 11 July 1794 *Survey.* Protracted[50] the fieldbooks of Messrs. Cockburn and Brodhead. Had the canoe repaired. One of the men killed an eagle with a wing-span of three and a half feet, eighteen inches from head to tail. Feathers gray, mingled with yellow streaks; belly whiter; beak a little curved; yellow feet with very strong claws.

Protracted the length of our lines and the river's course.

Observed with compass and the second-watch only.

Mr. Webster arrives at 6 in the evening, having marked the 9th line.

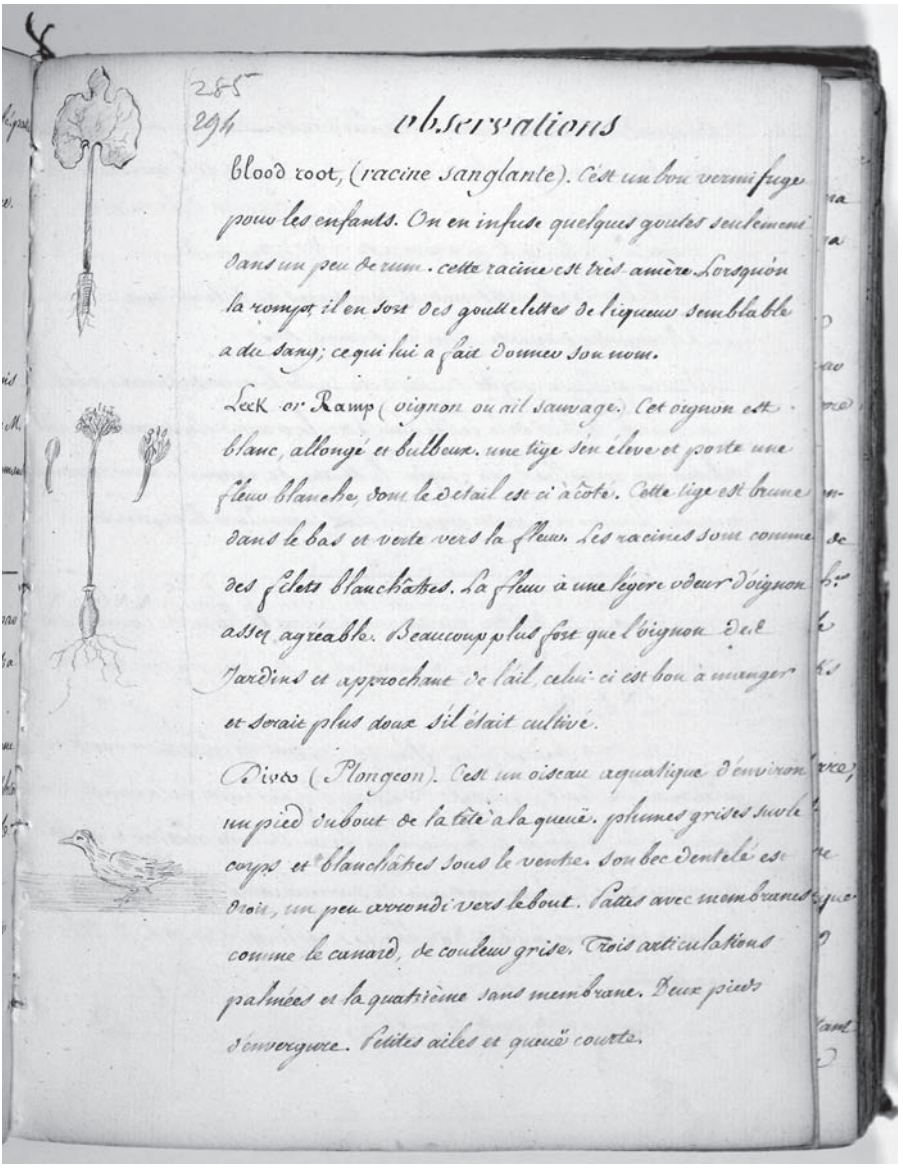
Gave him his provisions, up to Saturday evening.

Settlement. Advantage was taken of the moment when the men were all together, in order to assemble the timbers for the loghouse. It is then that we noticed that Mr. Webster had not cut half of what he had been ordered to do. We therefore cut down what was needed to finish the loghouse.

Saturday, 12 July 1794. *Survey* Mr. Webster left to trace out line 11. Sent by canoe provisions for today to Mr. Frey, who was met coming as we were chaining.

At 11 left to go reconnoiter the river. At noon, a violent rain stopped us. Back in the afternoon, I found Mr. Webster, who marked line 11 and 12, the stake planted near my camp. During the rain, Mr. Frey continued to follow the course of the river while chaining and came back in the evening. Distributed provisions to him and to Mr. Webster for this day.

Violent rain all night long.



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observations

Blood root, (racine sanglante). C'est un bon vermifuge pour les enfants. On en infuse quelques goutes seulement dans un peu de rum. cette racine est très amère. Lorsqu'on la rompt il en sort des gouttelettes de liqueur semblable a du sang; ce qui lui a fait donner son nom.

Leek or Ramp (oignon ou ail sauvage). Cet oignon est blanc, allongé et bulbeux. une tige s'en élève et porte une fleur blanche, dont le detail est ci à côté. Cette tige est brune dans le bas et verte vers la fleur. Les racines sont comme des fetes blanchâtres. La fleur à une legere odeur d'oignon assez agréable. Beaucoup plus fort que l'oignon des Jardins et approchant de l'ail, celui-ci est bon à manger et serait plus doux s'il était cultivé.

Dives (Plongeon). C'est un oiseau aquatique d'environ un pied d'bout de la tête à la queue. plumes grises sur le corps et blanchâtres sous le ventre. son bec dentelé est droit, un peu arrondi vers le bout. Pattes avec membranes comme le canard, de couleur grise. Trois articulations palmées et la quatrième sans membrane. Deux pieds d'envergure. Petites ailes et queue courte.

8. Castorland Journal, p. 285/294, showing manuscript page with "observations" and marginal drawings of flora and fauna. Courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Observations

—*blood root* (*racine sanglante*). This is a good vermifuge for children. Only several drops were infused in a little rum. This root is very bitter. When it is broken, small drops of liquid emerge, similar to blood. This has given it its name.

—*Leek* or *Ramp* (*oignon ou ail sauvage*). This onion is white, slender and bulbous. A stalk emerges from it and holds up a white flower, the detail of which is given in the margin. This stalk is brown at the bottom and green near the flower. The roots are like whitish nets. The flower has a light scent of onion, rather pleasant. Much stronger than the garden onions and similar to garlic, it is good to eat and would be milder if it were cultivated.

—*Diver* (*Plongeon*). This is an aquatic bird, about a foot from the tip of the head to the tail. Feathers, gray on the body and whitish under the belly. Its beak, toothed, is straight, a bit rounded at the end. Feet with membranes, like the duck, gray in color. Three webbed articulations and the fourth without membrane. Wing-spread about two feet. Small wings and short tail.

Settlement. Work was done on the loghouse but at noon, heavy rain interrupted work. The rain stayed the rest of the day and the following night.

Sunday, 13 July 1794 *Survey*. As our boundaries have not been run, I assembled the surveyors and gave them the following directive:

Calculations for finding the number of 450-acre squares needed to make up the 220,500 acres: 490 squares are needed. Supposing that there are about 70 miles from the great fall to the Lake, as Mr. Cockburn presumes, there would be, taking into account the river's windings, sixty miles at most in a straight line.

The bearing of the river appears to go up to line 11, NNW, or N between 20 and 21 degrees W; and that of the boundary line to be drawn by Mr. Van Allen is N87W.

From these data, our width cannot exceed 7 ranges of squares. But so that we are not mistaken, and to leave a margin for drawing the boundary line as a final step, which line will complete our survey, one need only calculate over six squares, that is, when the W lines are more than 402 chains 66 links, which is the length of the six squares, it will be necessary to move the cardinal line nearer the river by the width of a square (that is, 67 chains 11 links). The remaining surface area which will be needed to complete the tract will be filled in as a last step by the boundary line. If, in the upper part, the land is good, we will complete the squares that remain to be made up to the boundary line.

Protracted the map of the basin of the great fall. Translated and protracted the fieldbooks. Gave provisions to Messrs. Frey & Cantine to last until Monday evening, and to Mr. Webster until Thursday evening.

Settlement. Rain until ten. Work of making shingles was then begun. With the oxen, timbers were brought for the loghouse and the work of cutting them was completed. In the evening, the Cockburn canoe was caulked and tarred, to be ready to leave the next day. I wrote to Pharoux at this opportunity.

Monday, 14 July 1794 *Survey*. Sent Mr. Cantine in a canoe with two men to explore a large river which falls into the Black River. Sent Mr. Frey with three men to explore the long falls.[51] Mr. Frey had protracted the maps according to the fieldbooks. I continued the translation of Mr. Webster's fieldbook.

Mr. Webster, who left to make the 11 and 12th line, is taking with him provisions to last until Friday evening.

Mr. Cantine, back from the river, reports to us that it is very wide, that there are good low-lying lands on both shores; that the bottom of the water could not be found. He went about five miles up the river, which falls into this one, without encountering any falls, and found its direction to be generally NW.

Gave provisions to Mr. Cantine up to Friday evening; *idem* to Mr. Frey. Found an *azérolier*[52] near the camp. Arrival of Baptiste and Baby in the canoe, with provisions.

Settlement. Baptiste left in the morning with Baby in the small canoe with two barrels of provisions for the surveyors. At the same time sent the waggon with two men to go get five barrels of provisions that Hoff, the waggoner from Steuben, had left in the woods en route, his waggon having broken down, so that there only two workmen remain with us. As one of them was not working, I reproached him; upon which, without any answer, he went off to make a small raft, with the intention of going down the river and joining up with the surveyors. As there was a bit of rum involved (three days' provisions having been given out in the morning), he changed his mind after he had slept a little.

Tuesday, 15 July *Survey.* Wrote to Desjardins about the state of the survey. I ask him for some provisions. As Baptiste and Baby have left, I decamped at nine o'clock, 40'. Gave rendez-vous six miles further down, or in the neighborhood of the 16th line.

Journal of route[53]

[. . .] at 1 h, 36, arrive at a point, the river turning toward the N. I set up camp there. Jacques arrived with the small canoe. He had left Mr. Frey who was busy following the East shore of the river and Mr. Cantine a little further.

Mr. Frey busy in plotting the river. Mr. Webster in marking the line 12, and 13; Mr. Cantine, in marking line 14 and 15.

Saw a *Loome* [*sic*], aquatic bird larger than the duck, and whose cries announce storms. Ate part of a turtle weighing 21 pounds.

Settlement. Our workmen worked mightily and made more than 800 shingles.

Wednesday, 16 July *Survey.* Remained at camp. Sent the canoe to get the rest of the provisions at the last encampment. Toward seven ½ Mr. Frey arrived to join me while chaining. He has camped a quarter mile lower. Found a nest of *frêlon* (*wasp*) floating on the water. This nest, similar to a ribbon that was wound into a ball, is of a rough, gray, paper-like substance, with a single opening at the top. It was the size of a small cabbage. Saw a pretty, pyramidal flower, lilac color. Translated fieldbooks.

Settlement. At noon, our waggon returned with the 5 barrels that had stayed six days in the woods. Fortunately, they had suffered no damage. In the evening, Mr. Brodhead, surveyor, arrived with his men, having run the boundary lines of Angerstein, Watson and Greenleaf, and run a part of Totten and Crossfield's line to be sure of its bearing.[54] This operation, of Mr. Cockburn the son—to plot the river, bay and coast of the Lake toward King'stown—together with that of Mr. Cockburn the father, who has surveyed[55] from Oswego up to the bay, is going to allow us to establish our boundaries.

I had a long conversation on this subject with Mr. Brodhead. He seemed to me convinced that Inman's line could not subsist as it was, and that Totten and Crossfield's line, coming to strike the river well before its entry into the bay, also could not be used by us as a boundary. The error of the map, on the basis of which the sales were made, is so enormous that Boylston's portion, in which were included only 150,000 acres, probably contains six to seven hundred thousand, and it is to this portion that we will need to have recourse, to make up our deficit. Mr. Brodhead seemed to me quite disposed to speak to Mr. Cockburn about this. We had him to supper and shared our tent with him. We also fed his men, who two days earlier had run out of provisions and gone eight days without bread.

Thursday, 17 July 1794 *Survey*. Mr. Frey busy in plotting the river; Mr. Cantine on line 13 and 14; and Mr. Webster on line 11 & 12. In the evening, I went to observe the river's course, which in the space of a mile turns very much toward the North and then back a little toward the West. Translated fieldbooks.

Observation. Water lily with large, rosaceous flowers. *Idem*, with yellow flowers, poppy-like head. Pretty pyramidal flower, bluish, on a stalk 3 to 4 feet. It forms several pyramids; leaves like those of a daisy. Another flower, purple, forming a rather large bouquet, 3 feet high (a kind of Valerian). A plant, whose single stalk is three feet high. Its leaves have the

shape of those of the bean, and are arranged on smaller stalks surrounding the stalk. The top of each smaller stalk carries pink labiate flowers on as many smaller stalks.

Settlement. Baptiste arrived with our canoe, around 6 in the morning. He and Baby had gone downriver nearly 30 miles. Baptiste brought me back a letter from Pharoux, who informed me that Mr. Frey had written to Mr. Brodhead in order to engage him to help us when he finishes his operation. I spoke of this to Mr. Brodhead, who answered me that he was going to Fort Stanwix to rejoin Mr. Cockburn the father, that there they would make their reduction; that, from there, he would return to mark our boundary, and that he would be at our service as soon as he finished this task, which would retain him for about three weeks. I then had him make a copy of our title, so that he might show it to Mr. Cockburn, and there is every reason to hope that we will obtain satisfaction. Mr. Brodhead left at eight. We had 2 men saw billets to make shingles; one man plane them; and the 2 others bring by using the oxen the timbers for the loghouse.[56]

Friday, 18 July 1794 *Survey.* The surveyors employed as yesterday. In the evening, the three companies arrived at the rendez-vous. Gave to Mr. Webster provisions for the evening, as I had issued him them only up to Thursday evening.

Mr. Cantine has run the 13 and 14 lines; Mr. Webster the 11th, part of the 12th, and the course of the Beaver River, Mr. Frey having measured the course of the river up to the long falls, about 5 miles lower. I translated the fieldbooks.

Settlement. The work of sawing the blocks for shingles was finished, and the loghouse was raised up to the height of the joists.

Saturday, 19 July *Survey.* Gave out to all the companies provisions for today and tomorrow. The three surveyors have agreed on their operations. Mr. Cantine has advanced beyond the cardinal line by one square because of its extreme length and the direction of the river, which turns to the west. Began to translate Mr. Cantine's fieldbook. I noticed that the surveyors had neglected to mark the lines by thirds for the subdivision of the squares. I ordered them to go back and number as a general rule all the lines. Rain all day and all night.

Settlement. A constant rain prevented work. We caught a *catfish* in the net. This excellent fish is called the *mal* in the ichthyology of the new *Encyclopédie*.[57] The Americans call it a *catfish* (*poisson chat*) because it has around its mouth something like whiskers.

Sunday, 20 July 1794 *Survey*. Distributed provisions to the three Companies for three days; that is, up to and including Wednesday evening. Made two directional maps, for numbering in sequence and for planting posts. Gave the written directive below. The surveyors went back, in order to both finish

the 12 and 14 lines begun, and to mark numbers at each corner of the squares and plant posts on the lines that they have retraced.

Agreed to carry provisions to them Wednesday evening, if they have not finished this operation, for which the three companies are employed. Agreed to continue the cardinal line up to the Fall. Continued translating Mr. Cantine's fieldbook.

Directive for the surveyors

1. On the cardinal line there shall be planted a post, or a tree marked (if one is met), at each distance of 22 chains, 37 links, and every third post shall be planted, or a tree marked, to be a corner, which shall be numbered as explained below and as shown on the map.

2. Each line running west shall be likewise marked every 22 chains, 37 links. At every third occurrence of this distance, there shall be marked a post, which will be numbered according to the map and as explained below.

3. When the surveyors are near the River and they want to return East to rejoin the cardinal line, they shall begin by returning at right angles to the angle of the lot nearest the river, from the line West that they have previously run. They will mark out three subdividing posts, and at the third, they will go back down to the river while always marking each distance of 22 chains, 37 links, taking note of any remainder which does not make 22 chains, 37 links. After this operation, they shall go back East, from the corner post of the lot while always marking every 22 chains, 37 links.

4. If by chance in making a square turn they should encounter the river, they will go back by one square to maintain the right angle.

5. The order of the numbering shall be as follows: Each lot shall bear the number of its row going to the N, and of its row going West; each corner shall bear as a result the four numbers of the four surrounding lots.

Settlement. Joists and rafters were squared. The weather becoming fair towards noon, I had the waggon start out, in order to leave the next day to get provisions at Fort Schuyler.

Monday, 21 July 1794 *Survey*. After translating Mr. Webster's fieldbook, I left to go see the head of the falls at 10:08, taking two men with me and two days of provisions in the canoe. I reached the head of the waterfall, at one-twenty. Arriving one can see a small hill, covered with hemlocks, just across from the river. At the point are many dead trees carried by the waters. Several rocks in the water and on the shores of the river, which is very wide and narrows a little at right angles to the rocks of red stone, which are on the right.

The river above the head of the falls forms a large basin which narrows all of a sudden in the section where one begins to see rocks. The falls first present

a kind of rapid, the slope of which is about two feet, with rocks on either side and in the middle. In this area, the current is divided into two branches and creates an island in the center. The falls then widen into a vast basin strewn with an immense number of islands, islets and rocks. The ground of these islands is entirely of rocks which are covered with evergreen trees. This basin forms a very large contour, and after taking a northerly direction, turns back to the west. All the terrain to the east must be flooded in the season by the waters from the upper part, which, as they escape into the various low areas, create there currents in the shape of creeks, now dry. This terrain is very uneven, broken, bristling with granitous rocks and filled with wet areas; finally, it is generally covered with white cedar and hemlock.

I used up two hours following the contour of this basin, beyond which one can see nothing but rapids. One then finds quiet water and on the shore a large plain of hemlocks. On a slope which rises above this plain, one sees many signs of Indians living here. The river heads NNW from the base of the falls, then it goes N. There is a place where the Indians have camped, and from where one can get a rather pretty view of the islands which are at the foot of the falls, with the quiet part of the river below. The islets that this long fall[58] creates are innumerable. From the view one has, it is impossible to make an outline and form an exact idea of this basin because of the difficulty in approaching and distinguishing islands and various currents: but when one climbs onto the dead trees heaped up into piles in spots along the bank, one can see several points and better observe the grandeur of the basin. The type of rock into which it has been worn, is a reddish granite, striking fire with the steel, in inclined strata. A small compass, when placed on it, deviated.

From the basin, I walked along the river for about an hour; the water still very quiet. Then I heard and soon after I saw a small waterfall of about two feet, that one can get over with a canoe while going downriver. This waterfall is formed by sections of rock which hold the water back. One can pass there by fording, following the dyke of rocks. In this area the river heads to the N. I again walked about a half-hour further to see its direction: it turns to the NW, and the water appears quiet for a rather great distance. I think, from the direction and nature of the banks that one can see in the distance, that the area to which I had got last year, is not far, and that this could be the quiet part that I saw above the lower falls.[59]

Returned promptly to camp. Saw in the plain of hemlocks a good area to lay out the road; but after this point the terrain is very bad. It is necessary to cross through flooded areas, through mudslides (currently dry) where the overflowings drain back, and sections of exposed rock. The wood is nearly all white cedar. Arrived at night, quite tired, at the head of the long fall.[60] I found neither fire nor tent set up by young Jacques, whom I had left behind for that. I had quite a bit of difficulty in lighting one. The weather was very fine, and the wind from the North made the night very cold. I slept in my Indian hut, next to which I found a beaver skeleton.

Settlement. Baptiste and the waggon left for Fort Schuyler. I had given Baptiste 40 piastres to make the purchases, which we needed. Our three remaining workers finished squaring the rafters and joists for the loghouse.

Tuesday, 22 July *Survey*. Returned to the previous camp. Left at 10. Fine, hot weather. Dined at the beautiful creek of Boylstone (*Deer Creek*). Arrived at my camp at four. That makes about a mile per hour. At six and a half, one of the men from the Cantine company arrived on a raft, as he had hurt his foot.

Observation. Wild potatoes. This climbing plant attaches itself like the *volubilis*.[61] The potatoes, strung together like the beads of a rosary, are the size of a pigeon's egg and bland to the taste.

Settlement. Shingles were made, and work of squaring the three pieces for the door was finished.

Wednesday, 23 July *Survey*. After taking provisions to last 3 days for all our men, I left at one in order to go back up to my camp at the meadow on the 10th line. Arrived at the 14 and 15th at 2:15. Left at 2:45, having two persons with me: Brown, who has a sore foot, and Jacques. At 3:30 I saw the 14 and 13th at 10 chains beyond the new river. Between the 13 and 12th, good springs along the shore of sand, which is elevated. It is possible to collect much water in the areas that, like this one, are high and formed of small sandy mounds, beneath which is found fine clay, by placing small troughs to gather the overflows that can be seen welling up abundantly all along the shore. The clay, in this spot, is arranged in layers and leaves that resemble slate when it begins to form: its color is a grayish blue. From this spot, one can see the prairie in which post 13 and 12 is located. Arrived at the camp at 5:25. That makes about 4 hours to make 5 to 6 miles. Noticed a beautiful purple flour (*lobelia Cardinalis*). In the evening, the three companies arrived at the rendez-vous, having gone back through and numbered all the lines.

Settlement. Work continued on the shingles and on squaring the wood for the windows. At one, we had the visit of two land-seekers; one, named Butterfield, settled in Inman's triangle, seven miles from here, is our nearest neighbor: the other lives in the section of Fonda's patent belonging to Governor Clinton.

Thursday, 24 July 1794 *Survey*. Delivered provisions for three days, up to and including Saturday. Gave orders to Mr. Frey to distribute it for the three following days, if I was not back from the trip that I was going to make to the great fall.

Directive left for the surveyors at my departure.

During my absence, it is likely that the surveyors will have finished up to the 20th line. In this case, they will each begin another line. If the 20th exceeds the 9th square, they will go back by one or two squares, in proportion to the length of the 20th line, which I will determine with them. If they

have not finished, they will finish all their lines and will make their way to above the long fall. Upon arriving there, they will make a large hut where the landing is located. They will lay out and open a path to render communication from there to below the falls easy. In order to make the hut and the route, they will divide themselves up into three companies. One shall do the upper part of the route and a hut near the landing; the second company shall do the middle route, and the third shall cut the lower part of the route up to the site of a second hut that will be erected below the falls and rapids. All the companies shall meet up again in order to transport the provisions from the first hut to the second. Work on the lines will then be continued. During the length of time used to make the route and the huts, the surveyors shall protract the operations already done.

Left at 7:20 with Jacques and another man to rejoin Desjardins, discuss our business and bring back provisions, etc. At 9:30, saw a line. At 9:50 stopped for 10' to examine a spring. A little further saw some rocks. At 10:50, the 7 and 6th line. Stopped here for 20 minutes to cut some poles. At 12:45 arrived at my last encampment next to the 6 and 5 line. Left at 1:10. Saw a large number of springs along the riverbanks. Their water is ferruginous. These springs are along the bank in the areas where the sand bank is a bit elevated, and of which the river has made a glacis. One can see the clay beneath the water and the sand. At 2:05, the post 5 and 4. Got to the 1st camp of Mr. Frey at 7:30, where I slept the first night when going down. This camp is on a small height covered with hemlocks, not far from a meadow, the Indian tomb, Independence Rock and River.

Settlement. Our 3 workers continued the same work as the day before.

Friday, 25 July 1794 *Survey*. Left at 4:55. Not far from there Independence Rock, more exposed because the waters have gone down by at least three feet since my first passage. At 5:50, the line coming from Inman's corner. It is hard to go up the river from this point on. Sand banks making a bar at right angles to the islands two miles below the great fall. Arrived finally at camp at the great fall around 4 hours after noon.

Settlement. Same work as the preceding day. In the morning, two of our men, without my knowledge, took the small canoe which was left, and brought it beneath the garden, sheltered by brush. One of them had carried their pack to this spot, while the other went down along the shore with the canoe; my brother, having perceived the first slip away mysteriously with his baggage from beneath the bark of his hut, alerted me to this. I got to the canoe by another path and upon meeting them, I asked them where they were going—*To fish*. —But why these packs? Forced to confess, they agreed that their intention was to join up with the surveyors, finding it tiresome always to

stay in the same place and wishing to see the Lake. I told them that we held no one against their will, and that if such was their intention, they would go down with Pharoux whom I was expecting at any moment, but that they were wrong in leaving without letting us know beforehand, thus leading us to worry about them and depriving us of the canoe, without which we could not cross the river. They listened to my reprimand and went back to work, hanging their heads. This is not the only example of their dissembling that we have seen. These same people, the day before, had been congratulating themselves on their being with us and sheltered from the difficulties and poor food that others were experiencing.

Pharoux arrived the same evening, and we were occupied in going over the work on the survey up to the time of his departure.

Saturday, 26 July We concerted the next steps in our operations. Desjardins' trip to New York was decided upon in the event that we not receive any letters from now to the next few days. Pharoux tried to make a camp oven with the clay that he had brought back; but it turning out to be mixed with too much sand, the trial was not able to succeed, to our great regret, for that would have replaced the oven that failed us.

Mr. Brodhead arrived from Fort Stanwix. We were counting on him bringing back the decision on our boundaries; but he had not met Mr. Cockburn at the rendez-vous, where he found only a letter that gave him another rendez-vous on the Black River, at the point on Inman's line, twenty days from the date. This time having gone by, he had come back here, having nothing to do for the time being. We proposed to him, while waiting for Mr. Cockburn, to divide into squares the terrain along Inman's line, which Mr. Webster had neglected to do. He accepted our proposition with pleasure. We agreed on the same price as for our surveyors and our men and after dinner he left for this operation. We lent him a canoe to bring down his provisions.

Same work for our men.

Sunday, 27 July Sent Pharoux's two men to get the canoe that had been lent to Mr. Brodhead. Got ready Pharoux's departure, while waiting for Mr. Cockburn, charged with laying out our boundary lines. If he should not arrive shortly, the trip to New York would become indispensable, our surveyors having no more than a month's work in following the cardinal line and the survey operations unable to be continued without a base that is certain.

Monday, 28 July 1794 *Survey*. At 7 Pharoux left with three barrels of flour, one of rum and two of pork, loaded into the two canoes, which were steered by four men. At nine, reached the spot where the line crosses the river. There is, at this spot, on Boylston's shore, one of Mr. Brodhead's camps. One again crosses twice the nine-mile line for Inman. At 9:45, we crossed it for the last time. At noon, met Mr. Brodhead busy laying out his first line, near Otter Creek. Saw some ferruginous springs. Could see the right-angle stakes and the

stake for Brodhead's line at 67 chains, 11 links from Inman's angle. At 1:25 met our first line. Stopped at Independence Rock at 1:50. At night, that is, around eight, we camped on the opposite side for lack of a safe landing on our side for the provisions. This camp is right across from the 6 and 7 line.

Settlement. On his departure, Pharoux promised me to send the canoe back the following week so that I could go down to the falls and again confer with him before my departure for New York, or deliver to him the letters that we were awaiting with Baptiste's return from Fort Schuyler and bring him the items that I had requested be bought there and which he and the men could not do without. We remained therefore with one man only. As the shingles were finished, I had some oaks felled to be sawn into slats for the covering.

Tuesday, 29 July 1794 *Survey*. Left the camp at 5:30. Stopped at the camp next to the 11 and 12 post, which is in the marsh. Used a half-hour to breakfast. Arrived at my last camp at 11:30. Loaded my chest. Found a letter from Mr. Frey, who informs me of his sickness. Left at noon. Got to the camp at the long fall at 4:30. Found Captain Frey, sick for 3 days. Fisher was sick too. Our men had only marked a path to get around the falls. Had a hut made to shelter the provisions. I went to reconnoitre the route.

Observation. From the yellow-flowered water-lily one can draw out a red liquid which comes from its stalks when they are broken. These stalks are spear-shaped.

Settlement. Our waggons not arriving caused us worry. After much searching in the area, oaks suitable for cleaving were found. In this terrain, the trees have a fine appearance and vigorous growth, but under the healthiest and shiniest bark they are almost all rotted in the core. Our man was put to work cutting them down.

Wednesday, 30 July 1794 *Survey*. Had the work of covering the hut with sheets of bark finished. Distributed the provisions for today to all the men. Had the bread made. Examined Mr. Frey's map. I went to reconnoiter the location below the falls, good for camping, landing and disembarking; likewise the path to be finished. I got the small canoe down through the falls with the greatest difficulty. I crossed the fall from island to island and reached the large basin by wading in the water and jumping from rock to rock.

This basin, of an astonishing size, is strewn with numerous islands. Recrossed above the fall and saw the small canoe's descent into the rapids on Boylstone's side. Our men found a large bark canoe.

Calculating the surface area of the map.

Supposing 60 squares in length and 9 in width, this would make 540. We must therefore restrict ourselves to 9 or 10 squares, due to the points on the Lake and towards the great fall.

Settlement. Our waggons arrived at ten in the morning. Warren, one of our men, had left them at Fort Schuyler upon receiving the news that his wife had deserted. They brought us in his place a man named Crandle, who was hired at Fort Schuyler. Baptiste informed me that the two Canadians, whom I had seen at Mr. Post's, should be coming as soon as their month was completed. Men are always extremely scarce. Each one having clearing, etc. to do, there is nine times more work in the surrounding regions than workers.

After putting away and sheltering the provisions, work was done on the slats, and what Baptiste had been able to bring from the Baron's garden at Steuben was planted in the little garden.

Thursday, 31 July, 1794 *Survey*. I kept the men busy transporting the barrels to below the falls, to construct a hut to shelter them, and to carry materials for making an oven. The bread was the cause of a quarrel which arose. The biggest talker was also the worst worker and the greatest eater. Instead of making reasonable complaints to the surveyors or to me, he insulted me and threatened Mr. Frey: I dismissed him.

Settlement. Mr. Brodhead returned from the surveying that he had done for us. He was given the provisions that he had used up in our service, amounting to 35 pounds of flour and 30 of pork. We worked on making the map. Our men used the oxen to bring the logs to be sawed lengthwise for the slats. Mr. Brodhead had his men depart for Fort Stanwix.

In the evening, there arrived M. de Crèvecoeur, the son, and M. Huerne. They were coming from New York, and having gone to the house in Albany, they gave us our letters and two more which had reached Steuben after the waggons' passage. I was very worried, not yet having received any since the ones Pharoux had brought me in June. I learned with much relief that funds for us had finally arrived in Philadelphia and that my family was in good health. These gentlemen were coming to see the country and to look for a place to settle. I made them a proposal to go down with me next week to the long falls. This was for them a favorable opportunity, which they willingly seized.

Friday, 1st August, 1794 *Survey*. Departure of the dismissed worker with a letter for Desjardins for his pay. His pleas and submissive attitude induced me to take him back. I sent him on ahead to reconnoitre the river's course. We began to build the oven. Found large number of crayfish among the rocks. Saw a deposit of ochrous and sulphurous iron. Sent back to Desjardins the large canoe with two men.

Settlement. I completed the work with Mr. Brodhead and the translation of his fieldbook. This surveyor left in the evening, after we reached an agreement that upon his return, he would mark out in a direct line a path from the fall to the Fort Stanwix road, as this proposed route ought to shorten the distance by five or six miles.

Our new worker, having arrived with his leg very swollen, took advantage of the horses which had brought the French, to make his departure. Hoff, of Steuben, who had let these horses, made me proposals that would have been dishonorable for our settlement. As I knew the manner in which he had conducted himself with the Baron, I did not judge it fitting to accept them. I told him that I had acquired some experience since I was in his country and that, although I could not claim to know as much about these matters as a *Yankee*, I was beginning to lose much of my European good-naturedness and no longer have any confidence in fine promises.

In the evening our two Canadians arrived from Fort Schuyler, so that we again found ourselves with four workers.

Saturday, 2 August 1794 *Survey.* Busy translating Cantine's and Webster's fieldbooks. Our men worked on the oven and transported provisions. Others were put to work on the road.

Settlement. Work was done on the door-posts and on raising the new mill-stone brought from Fort Schuyler. I had some ash-trees cut down to be split into slats, as the oak did not cleave straight. We experienced suffocating heat, which provided us with a fine catch of fish.

Sunday, 3 August *Survey*. The oven being finished, I broke camp to settle into the hut below the rapids, and I had the rest of the provisions, tools, tent, etc., transported. I continued to translate Webster's fieldbook. I had the barrel of rum brought by the river. Encountering a wasps' nest, I was cruelly stung by them. I had a trial of the oven made for breakfast, and then 2 other batches. Our bread was very superior to that cooked under the ashes.

I planned with Mr. Frey to plot the map of the basin and the islands of the falls; to give provisions to Mr. Webster and Mr. Cantine to complete lines 18 and 19, 19 and 20; and to run lines 20 & 21, 21 and 22, by Mr. Cantine, and lines 22 and 23, 23 & 24 by Mr. Webster; to protract the main map, up to where the fieldbooks currently ended; to take the level of the falls and rapids; and to send provisions to the end or to the vicinity of line 22 and 23. Finally, in the event that the surveyors should lack provisions, they would send a man to the camp to get them.

Settlement. A storm, followed by a long rain, interrupted the work-projects.

Monday, 4 August 1794 *Survey*. Delivered the provisions to the 2 companies of surveyors for five days, including Friday evening. Gave rendezvous to deliver more to them Saturday morning, at the end of the line 22 and 23. Caught a large quantity of crayfish in the rapids. Placed the marble to observe the declination of the magnetic needle. Had bread baked in advance. Stayed with Mr. Frey and four men.

Settlement. The large canoe arrived with two men to get provisions. Pharoux informed me of his return to the falls[62] and that he needed someone

to stay there, while he made an excursion up to the Lake. My brother offered to take his place. I immediately had the canoe drawn up to dry land. Its exterior was gone over again with the axe, because it was so roughly cut up that its motion was very slow. For this task, I used the two Canadians, more acquainted with this type of work. Two other workers were employed in picking up knots of pine to make tar and in notching pine trees for turpentine. The two others, with Baptiste, enlarged the garden and worked on the door for the loghouse.

Tuesday, 5 August 1794 *Survey*. Found the declination of the needle to be 2° 40'. Traced a meridian on a large rock, which serves as a port at the base of the long falls. We named it *Meridian Rock* (*Rocher de la méridienne*). The needle is attracted a bit by the rock. Translated Mr. Frey's fieldbook. In an Indian hut found buckets made out of bark. The line 19 and 20 of Mr. Cantine strikes the waterfall, not far from the camp above.

Settlement. Same tasks. The canoe was repaired and caulked. In the evening, we got ready to leave the next day with four boatmen, intending to bring back the two canoes.

Wednesday, 6 August 1794 *Survey*. Used the day to take measurements of the falls and rapids, passing among the rocks, the falls and the rapids, slipping and falling often into the water. I got a sunburn on my legs. My operation was finished at nightfall. Found, not without difficulty, a passage to cross over again to our side. Followed, in the dark, the path along the falls. Experienced extreme fatigue in getting to camp. Fortunately, mid-way, they came to meet me with torches of resinous pine. There only remains to plot the shores in several places and the point of the islands below. Because of my exhaustion and the pain from my sunburnt legs, I got almost no sleep.

Settlement. I left my brother at the camp to direct the work, and I left at 6 with Messrs. de Crèvecoeur and Huerne. We were seven in the canoe, which let in water, although it had been repaired. We thought the river to be very beautiful but very winding, having, in the entire course from the great falls to the long, only a very slight rapid at the mouth of Otter Creek, around eight miles below the head of the settlement. As one descends, the water takes on an even darker black and becomes less drinkable; but this is compensated by the springs, pure and fresh, which are found on the shores almost everywhere. A most attractive scene is presented by the meadows which on either side adorn the shores of the Black River, among forests which are reflected in the channel. Wishing to be at the rendez-vous the same day, we rowed until ten at night, when we arrived at the head of the long falls, about fifty miles from the great cataract. As it was too late to make the portage, we slept under the foliage, after managing with great difficulty to light a fire, something indispensable against the night cold, very sharp for the season. We had to do without drinking the river water: it tasted so astringent and so acid that we were unable to swallow it; and it was moreover too dark to locate a spring.

Thursday, 7 August 1794 As soon as it was day, we sent the two Canadians with part of the belongings. Told of our arrival, Pharoux sent us men to help with the portage. We began to walk, with the rest of the baggage. The path is a mile and a half. We found the path marked, but not cut. After several large steps over rocks, fallen trees and other obstacles, we reached the camp at the base of the falls, and we found Pharoux with Mr. Frey. I introduced my traveling companions to them; I then shared with them news from Old Europe, newspapers, and especially our letters. I spoke to Pharoux about my trip to New York and our arrangements. It was decided that my brother would go down to the falls with the canoes and the rest of the provisions; that Baptiste would remain at the settlement to direct the workers during my absence; and that Pharoux would lay out a line from here to the Lake with Mr. Frey in order to manage and direct the rest of the survey; finally that he would finish plotting the river's course. Pharoux prepared his mail. We negotiated with M. Huerne on the price of lands, at the rate of two dollars an acre, with terms to facilitate the payments for him. He was to take 450 acres.

Friday, 8 August 1794 *Survey*. Departure of Messrs. Desjardins, Huerne and de Crèvecoeur. Mr. Cantine's bearer arrives: he requests provisions. Issued enough for four days, up to and including Tuesday evening. Gave orders to continue the cardinal line up to the line 25–26, given that Mr. Brodhead told us that the Watson line would be 20 miles long.

Agreed that the provisions would be brought Tuesday evening to the base of line 25–26. Arrival of Mr. Webster. Gave him his provisions for four days and agreed that he would send Tuesday evening his bearer to the end of the said line 25–26. The line 21–22 is a little lower than the upper camp: the line below the lower camp is the 22–23.

Settlement. As Pharoux had not been able to finish his mail yesterday evening, we were not able to leave until around eleven, and we went to spend the night beyond the Beaver River, which is nearly as wide as the Black River. The water in this place is 30 feet deep. We were not able to make more than 16 or 17 miles, as the small canoe worked very poorly.

Saturday, 9 August 1794 *Survey*. Bruce deprived of rum for eight days, beginning next Wednesday. This bearer has drunk his company's entire provision. Kept Mr. Frey at work on protracting the map according to the measurements in the fieldbooks. Mr. Webster employed on lines 21–22 and 22–23. Mr. Cantine, on lines 24–25 and 25–26. Unable to take levels because of rain, I continued to translate the Webster fieldbook.

Calculations for directing the survey:

The line from the corner of Inman's square has a length of	137	chains
The one between 21 and 22	844	
	987.	[*sic*]
of which half for reduction[63]	493½	

The distance from the corner of Inman's square up to the line
21–22 is 1410
which, multiplied by 493½ gives ..... 69,000 Acres.

Plus the triangle between Inman's corner and the fall,
estimated at 6000
Plus the other rows from line 21–22 up to 25–26, estimated for
fifteen squares, reduction in depth, at ..... 27,000.
Plus the row 26–27 6750
108,750.

Total needed ..... 220,500.

There remains to be surveyed ..... 111,750.

There is no disadvantage, I believe, in going down to the twelfth square of distance. When one is on the line 25–26, it will be necessary then to continue this new cardinal line up to the line 30–31.

Settlement. We made only 24 miles, although rowing constantly. A violent rain slowed us down greatly. We went to spend the night opposite the mouth of Independence River. M. Huerne got out in several places but still could not make a final choice. The meadows, as well as the low lands, were subject to flooding: the higher lands were too dry. I perceived that he wanted to finesse us. He was supposed to encourage many French people to follow him, etc. I let him talk and stuck to our conditions. M. de Crèvecoeur killed several ducks. We had a very rainy night, and we had to camp on wet ground.

Sunday, 10 August *Survey*. Caught a turtle weighing 27 pounds. Measured the level of the long falls. Rain after operation. Arrival of several men from the Webster company; Kelly sick and Brower wishing to leave. Gave provisions for three extra days to the two companies. Wrote to the two surveyors that I would send them provisions Friday evening, recommending to them that they should each send a man to the end of their lines. Found the total height of the falls to be 61 feet, 6 inches, 2 lines.

Settlement. Left at four and a half. At seven we arrived at the rapid of Otter Creek, where we breakfasted. Finally, at two, we arrived at our camp at the great fall. During our absence, they finished sawing the slats, and the lumber for the roof was all brought and traced out. I had the small canoe repaired and the door to the loghouse set in place. The other workers cut the lumber for the roofing.

Monday, 11 August 1794 *Survey*. Arranged my plane table and an apparatus for taking sightings. Departure of Brower in the morning. Wrote to Desjardins. Since Brower wanted to leave, he must, following the law of surveying, lose his wages, and I think that Mr. Frey wishes to charge this to

our account. Without this law, one would at every moment risk being abandoned in the middle of the woods by this species of men incapable of any feeling other than that of self-interest.

Settlement. Abundant rain. In the intervals, yesterday's work was continued.

Tuesday, 12 August 1794 *Survey*. Made the leveling table as indicated below and a sun-dial for latitude 40°. A table was made with the axe. Calculated the difference of the slopes of water of the falls and rapids. The predicted eclipse did not occur, neither yesterday nor today. Mr. Frey busy in drawing up the map according to the fieldbook; Mr. Cantine, with lines 23–24; Mr. Webster, with lines 21–22 and 22–23.

Observation. Among the stones that the river brings and that are found in abundance on the other side of the camp on the beach of a cove formed by the rapids, one notices the fragments of a fine, white marble veined with gray. As this stone is not found below the great fall, I conclude from this that there must be a mass of stone of this type in our tract, or in Boylstone's, in the direction of the creeks which empty into the Black River.

[. . .][64]

Tuesday, 12 August 1794 *Settlement*. The work of repairing and installing the door was finished. In the morning, Mr. Brodhead arrived without bringing us any news of Mr. Cockburn. We learned from him only that Mr. Van Allen, surveyor of the Wolf company, had gone to join Mr. Cockburn at King'stown, and had sent a surveyor to bring the Totten and Crossfield line to the Lake, which line is to serve as a boundary between us and No. 4. Mr. Brodhead left in the after-noon to join Mr. Inman and speak to him on the subject of boundaries. Seeing that nothing yet had been decided, I prepared to leave right away. Messrs. de Crèvecoeur and Huerne took advantage of this opportunity to return to New York. My brother got ready to leave too the next day, with the canoes and provisions, in order to replace Pharoux at the long falls. Accordingly, I made out the directives, which I left with Baptiste who remained at our camp during my trip, namely to have the work-projects continued, to go to Steuben, and to have provisions sent downriver as my brother should ask for them.

M. de Crèvecoeur proposed staying in Castorland for the winter; but our affection for his father and for him induced us to represent to him the difficulties of this rash undertaking, especially not having the funds to obtain the helps and indispensable necessities for another settlement in the middle of the woods. I perceived that this young man took the reasons that I was using to dissuade him from his favorite project to be mere contrariness.

Wednesday, 13 August 1794 *Survey*. I verified the meridian, which was found to be exact, the compass declining to the west by 2° 40'. I took the sun's height, which was, at noon, 60° 30'. The declination of this day being 14° 40' North, gives the following calculations:

1st calculation:

height of the sun at noon, 13 August..... 60° ..... 30' ..... 0"
North declination of the said day..... 14.....40 .....0.

height of the Equator .....45 ..... 50 0
which, subtracted from .....90 .....0 .....0.

gives the height of the pole
at Meridian Rock..... 44°.....10' .....0.

2nd calculation:

The sun's distance at noon from the zenith.....29° .....30' ..... 0"
Declination of the day of observation..... 14 .....40 0

same latitude.....44 .....10 0
from which must be deducted
due to refraction.....0 .....0.34.

The exact height will be .....44° .....9' .....26".

I had Lindsay climb a pine-tree about 200 feet high to see if the Lake and the river's direction could be glimpsed. He made out a chain of mountains to the N about 4 miles away and going from the SE to the NW. They restrict the view on that side. The direction of the portion of the river which he was able to see is approximately N15. He noticed some blue mountains in the SE. That is probably the summit of the great fall. Beyond the chain of SE & NW mountains he saw the summit of more distant mountains.

I wrote up the following directive for continuing the survey:

Directive for the survey.

Mr. Geoffrey Desjardins will arrive today or tomorrow. He will remain at the camp with Jacob or with Lindsay. He will have all the necessary bread made for the three groups, and will have it sent up to above the lower great falls[65] each week, by bearers that shall be sent to him on a regular basis. Each time that they are sent, or that he has something to send, one will write to the other, reciprocally.

Mr. Frey, with me and at least four men, will go down to the Lake. We will begin to plot the river's course from the camp up to line 25–26. We will go back up this E line in order to ascertain where the corner of the square nearest the river is to be found. From this point, we will start out and run N up to the Lake, while placing and marking the posts for the squares in the normal manner. Either this line will be able to go up to the Lake

without diverging much from the river, or it will diverge by more than 3 or 4 squares. In order to know for certain, there shall be run, every 5 squares, a W line to the river. At that one of these lines where we will have found more than 4 squares distance from the N line, we shall move closer to the river by one or several squares in order to run N again, up to the bay or Lake.

The two other companies shall each run two lines N from the 25–26 line. These lines to be run shall be nine lots in length, to be continued every nine lots, if necessary.

The N line, which we will run with Mr. Frey, shall serve for the direction of our bearers: it shall be well marked and distinct, as well as the right angles, should there be any.

By means of this operation, so directed, we will be able to estimate the number of squares in width that we must occupy and form: we will finally have the outline of the tract.

It is to be desired that each surveyor indicate in his fieldbook the river's course, at the end of every line, both going up as well as going down, as well as the direction to which it turns, beyond the course which they can observe.

Settlement. At eight, my brother left for the long falls with the two loaded canoes. We were able to set out only at 10, given the need to search for one of our pair of oxen which had wandered away, so that we only made 14 miles and had to sleep next to a creek, under a bark shelter that we found at night on Adgate's patent, belonging to Mr. Boon.

Three miles from the saw-mill that he is now having built, we had the pleasure of encountering on the road the beginnings of two clearings, which make us hope for loghouses to give us shelter next year. We managed to light a fire. The oxen were placed in a small meadow near our camp.

Thursday, 14 August 1794 *Survey*. Mr. Frey busy with the general map; Messrs. Webster and Cantine with continuing their lines. Arrival of Geoffroy Desjardins at the camp with two canoes, loaded with provisions. Weather very hot and threatening. I saw a water-snake swallow a rather large fish.

Journey to New York. We breakfasted four miles from our camp, on the shore of the Black River, which forms in this spot a lagoon.*[66] This lagoon comes all the way up to the foot of the road. The river, beyond, appeared to us as wide as at the falls, and to flow quietly on a bed of rocks.

At two, we arrived at Steuben. They were sitting at table. The Baron received us with his usual affability. I introduced my traveling companions. We found a brick kiln set up: the workers earned two dollars a day. The Baron's new loghouse was very little advanced, given that his workers did not keep their word and did not behave any better towards him than ours did

toward us. I had the waggon repaired and loaded so that it might leave the next day early in the morning. And I sent for three horses to take us to Fort Schuyler.

Friday, 15 August 1794 *Survey*. Had a barrel of flour and one of pork transported from the camp above to the one below the falls. Decided on the preparations for our departure. On leaving, we will bring provisions to the other companies.

Instructions for Mr. Brodhead, left with G. Desjardins.

> Mr. Brodhead will plot the course of the river on our side from the camp below the rapids to the line 25–26. He will determine it exactly while plotting the sections of lines 21–22, 22–23, 23–24, 24–25, and 25–26. The line 21–22 is located about 15 chains from the last camp. He will continue in this way the course of the river all the way to the bay.
>
> Once arrived at line 25–26, he will go back E all the way to the corner of the first large square which he will find numbered on all four sides; from there he will run N. The line will be already run, and every 22 chains, 37 links, he will find a stake and at every third one the corner of a large square. He will run the lines as he descends to the river, to the posts of the large squares marked 26–27 & 27–28.

In the evening, heavy rain, which delayed our departure. Distributed provisions for six days, through Thursday evening. Sent on ahead the two other companies' provisions to the end of lines 23–24.

Journey to New York. I had our waggon set out as soon as it was morning, loaded with provisions and a shipment of cabbage, sorrel, etc., that the Baron gave me for our garden. The Baron's was perfectly well maintained and stocked, due to my chest of seeds from Europe, of which I had made a present to him, foreseeing that it would be impossible to sow them this year at Castorland. For this, the Baron was very grateful and said to us that he considered himself as my depositary, and that not only he but his neighbors, to whom he had distributed some, would furnish me with everything of this sort which we might need afterwards.

The Baron had sown some lentils, which succeeded perfectly well, in spite of the prejudice which leads to their not being cultivated. They are an excellent acquisition for this country.

After quite a few bothersome Yankee dealings we found some horses; but a heavy rain delayed our departure.

Saturday, 16 August 1794 *Survey*. As the canoe loaded with provisions for the two companies did not arrive yesterday evening, I had the Frey company go on ahead. About two hours later the two men with the two small canoes arrived in my camp. They reported to me that they had found no one

at lines 24–25. Left Geoffroy on watch at the camp to send us provisions. I was able to leave with him only one man, to make the bread.

Left at 8:30. Fine view of the islands and rapids after the camp. Rocks below a small island. These rocks block the river. Rapid on the bar. Plain of pines and slope sandy, steep on our side; then fine water and quiet, river wide. The plain of pine-trees continues, but descending imperceptibly. Met two of Mr. Cantine's men who were going to get some clothes at the camp. A little further met two of Mr. Webster's men who were going for provisions. They turned back as soon as they learned that the rum was in the batteau and the provisions at the end of line 24–25.

At 9:15 the little waterfall or rapid among the rocks instead of a waterfall that I saw the first time. The water being now low, it is nothing more than a channel through the rapids and a rock blocking ⅔ of the river, which rock is now exposed. The channel is on the opposite side. Good location for mill. The river bottom above is paved with rocks.

At 9:37 the line 23–24 run by Mr. Cantine. At 9:55 another rapid formed by a rock of flat stone of another type. I saw the surveyors assembled above the waterfall. At 10, arrived at the place where they were all gathered together.

Here begins a complete change in the type of soil. The rock substance becomes limestone. The beds are of flat stone, of bluish color, arranged in regular courses of different thicknesses, capable of being very easily worked. Breakfasted in this place. Left at 11. Walked along the water on a pavement of these stones. The shore formed of similar stones, made steep by the waters. The river is rapid in the spots where this kind of stone creates recesses. For building no stone is more suitable than this kind: its horizontal layering, its vertical clefts, its various thicknesses, in short, everything makes it suitable for construction.

Sometimes we climbed up the cliff of rocks, whenever the water came dashing to its foot. Between the horizontal beds and vertical joints of the stones are found springs. There are sections which enclose pebbles and ferruginous pyrites within. These pebbles strike fire with the steel. There are some good sites for mills in the sections where the river forms small falls. We passed a rather long island, of the same kind of stones, covered with trees and located on our side.

Arrived at eleven at line 24–25, drawn by Mr. Webster. Stayed about half-hour in this spot, left at 12:15. At 12:55, the line 25–26 drawn by Mr. Cantine. Ahead one walks on rock debris, and as the shore is very steep, one has to climb back up onto the bank. The river runs toward the east. Good even land. After the line, there are two islands, one of which is small. River quiet and narrow. The shore a bit steep. At 1:25 a plain of very fine pine-trees. Coast elevated. Small island, at right very high hill. A little after, the coast gets even more elevated. Ravine between two heights. On the second height, placed the compass. The river runs N and immediately turns

W. A small island can be seen. The water exceedingly rapid. Soon after a very beautiful basin. At the bend in the river, one sees two islands. The river coming from the south goes west.

A little further, at the bend *a* of the large basin, stopped for a half-hour to have Lindsay climb to the top of a tree. He saw the river turn a little to the south and then rather straight toward the west.[67]

Crossed the plain, elevated, of pine-trees and oaks. Went down to a small marsh where there is a birch post marked 26–27. Arrived at 3:15 at the end of line 26–27, where a hemlock is marked.

Agreement with the three surveyors that at each line's end, beginning with the 26–27, they would number in their fieldbooks the river's direction, and that they would go reconnoitre the distance to the station that we had indicated below.

Agreement that Mr. Frey will write to Mr. Brodhead to take the river's course only from the camp below the falls to the line 26–27; and, to facilitate this, that he will indicate the places where the preceding lines strike the river. Mr. Frey will add that he is to come meet us at the bay of the Lake, and as rendez-vous, the entrance to the river or the place that forms three openings.

Agreement that we will continue the river course by stations which will not exceed twenty chains, and that we will mark them all the way to the bay.

Agreement that from line 26–27, at twelve squares distance from the river, there shall be run a line N for four squares to the line 30–31. At line 30–31, one will make a line N at 12 squares distance from the river, which line shall be continued for four lots, that is, to line 34–35. Before this operation is finished, Mr. Frey will have returned to determine by means of reliable calculations, based on the exact course of the river, the suitable number of squares to be marked and their distances from the river and from the Lake.

Agreement for the provisions that one man from each company shall go Wednesday morning to the head of the rapids, and the following Monday.

Agreement that tomorrow and for the next two days Lindsay will return to the camp to make bread and will bring it to the rapids.

Agreement that the small canoe will be brought down from the quiet part to help out with the transporting.

Journey to New York. At ten we left the Baron's with an Englishman who is settling on his patent. Our new traveling companion brought us by way of a new road, more convenient for Mr. Boon's settlement: but as he did not care to stop, we were only able to say a brief hello to Mr. Mappa. Mr. Boon had had a new road cut. This settlement is developing before one's eyes, and money is not being spared. At five in the evening, we arrived at Fort Schuyler, at Mr. Post's. Visited Mr. Peter Smith, whom I found to be recovered, and who offered me his services.[68]

Sunday, 17 August 1794 The operation for the course of the river begins with line 26–27, where we had spent the night, drenched all night long by a heavy rain.

Monday, 18 August 1794[69] [Stations 23–66.]

Tuesday, 19 August 1794 [Stations 67–105]

Wednesday, 20 August 1794 [Stations 105 [*sic*]–151]

Thursday, 21 August 1794 [Stations 152–192]

Friday, 22 August 1794 [Stations 193–235]

Saturday, 23 August 1794 [Stations 236–288]

Sunday, 24 August 1794 [Stations 289–300].

Monday, 25 August 1794 [Stations 32–80]

[. . .] *Observations*: Camped in this location. One can see
the two capes of the bay, the three islands beyond, and two treeless islands within. One can also see in the distance the summit of the mountains which run between Lakes Oneida & Ontario; between the rivers Onondago and Mohawk on the one hand, and the Black River on the other: all of this creates a very attractive view.

Tuesday, 26 August 1794

[. . .] *Observation*: Being at point 93, found a natural column of stone; on which is a cedar, tall and old. Here is the last station, finding ourselves short of provisions, and our men mutinying.

Operations performed, on returning, to obtain the map of the bay:

1st Operation [. . .]
2nd Operation [. . .]
3rd Operation [. . .]

Wednesday, 27 August 4th Operation [. . .]

5th Operation [. . .]
6th Operation to obtain the map of mouth of the Black River [. . .]

Having no more provisions, returned in order to camp and to spend the night near the basin of the falls. We tried fishing and caught some very large cat-fish, which we grilled on coals. Our men kept all of it for themselves. Americans fortunately do not eat either fish heads or livers, so that upon our men's refusal, I made a meager supper of them, very tired and anxious both from their murmurings and reproaches as from not finding at this rendez-vous the men that Desjardins was supposed to send me with extra provisions. Our men had however brought along more food than was needed, and they could blame nothing but their own voraciousness for the scarcity in which we found ourselves.

Thursday, 28 August 1794 Went back up the river, to above the lower falls. Met the Brodhead company which was coming to meet us at the Lake with a needed supply of provisions. I was extremely tired, both from the previous day's walking (my shoes being in tatters) as from today's, and from the lack of food, due to the gluttony of our men, two of whom we came upon. Sent from the camp at the falls with provisions, they had been camping tranquilly at the lower falls for three days, having passed the time eating them instead of bringing them to us.

Directive given the surveyors.

1. Mr. Cantine shall run a line down, seven squares in length, parallel to the one he is running now.

2. Mr. Brodhead shall run another line W parallel and behind that of Mr. Cantine.

3. Mr. Webster shall run some lines S to the river, in the space between the river and the first line.

4. In case the river should leave some space between the first line, one shall run lines to make squares.

5. The surveyors shall continue afterward the three lines each nine squares long, unless the river strikes them.

6. In case the river should be encountered by lines of 7 or 9 squares, after a small number of squares lengthwise, they shall run one or more parallel lines W, from behind, starting with the beginning of the lines of 7 squares.

After having given the above directive, I continued my route with Mr. Frey, and slept at the camp where the provisions are dropped off.

Friday, 29 August 1794 Returned to the camp at the long falls with much fatigue. Passed the little falls and the fine quarry, arrived at 10. Rested part of the day. Verified with G. Desjardins the condition of our remaining provisions.

Saturday, 30 August Kept busy protracting a map of the river's course. Wrote Mr. Post to have him send us a barrel of flour which remained in his store, plus another barrel *idem*, which he has used and promised to replace for us; to send also at the current price 2 barrels of flour and one of pork, which we need to finish our campaign, and which Desjardins will take into account with him upon his return from New York.

Wrote to Desjardins accordingly. Wrote to Baron de Steuben in regard to the rumors that had been spread that we had been killed by the Indians. Wrote to Madame Desjardins on the same matter. Had G. Desjardins leave for the great fall with my letters, and so that he might send from there Baptiste and the waggon to Fort Schuyler to get our provisions. He must supervise the work-projects at the settlement and come back down promptly with the rum and provisions.

Sunday, 31 August Continued to protract the map of the river. Gave provisions to Mr. Frey up to and including 2 September.

Monday, 1st September Sent the provisions of bread, meat and rum to the three companies counting from the 5th to the 8th September. Continued to protract the plan of the river's course and of the bay. Finished this operation. Made a general map of the divisions finished to this date and of those which remain to be done. Made the calculations and estimates of the surface area and the general outline of the tract.

Tuesday, 2 September 1794 *Estimate of the surface area surveyed and of that which remains to be surveyed.*

The space adjoining the fall	640	acres.
all the way to the end of Inman's square	1750.	
from the triangle between Watson, line 28–29N and line 16–17W	104,300.	
plus 11 squares at the angle near the cardinal line	4,950.	
Included between the Lake, the bay and the river (⅓ of which is already surveyed)	65,250.	
	176,890.	
By taking two rows more, from the cardinal line all the way to the lake, that gives about	37,600.	
	214,490.	

There remains about 6,000 acres, which will be completed by a line of boundaries parallel to our rows on the West, that is, in a westerly direction, as it is impossible that the line N87°W, originating in Totten and Crosfield, can serve as a boundary.

Operations which remain to be done:

There remains more to be surveyed, namely:

for the squares at the base of the river on the bay and the lake	40,000	acres.
for the 11 squares at the angle	4,950.	
for the two rows more	37,600.	
Total	82,550.	

Plus three lines to be run while coming back by about twenty-five squares in length on average.

Plus the course of the coast of the Portuguese Peninsula on the Lake and the bay.[70]

Plus the course of the River between line 3–4 N. and Inman's line.

Plus the remainder of the course of the *Rivière du Castor* (Beaver River).

Wednesday, 3 September 1794 Departure of Mr. Frey with a man to carry to the surveyors the directive according to the maps which I have written up previously. G. Desjardins arrives with the provisions for the great falls.[71] It has not been necessary to send to Fort Schuyler for extra flour.

Thursday, 4 September Made ready my departure to go explore the two upper rivers with the small canoe, accompanied by two men, and to view the work at the great fall, the loghouse, build an oven there, etc. Left G. Desjardins in charge of watching the camp and distributing provisions. Rain all day long. Left the camp at 5 in the evening. Dismissed Crandle, who came back to the camp without orders from the surveyors, and who had asked Mr. Frey for his release. Embarked and left from the top of the rapids at 6:45. Camped about 3 miles distant because of the darkness.

Friday, 5 September Before our departure, we were joined by a Canadian traveler who was going to Cataracoui (King'stown), and to whom letters for us had been given at the great fall. This man appeared to me to have been sent to report on the settlement, a rumor having spread in Canada that 400 French people had already come, and that in the course of the year two thousand were expected there.[72]

Left at 6:30. Arrived at the mouth of the Beaver River at 10:15. Went up this river; meadows and good low lands, and wet on both sides. At 11, passed by two large rocks in the river. Width of the bed, one chain to 1 ch. ½. At noon, a small creek to the right offering the appearance of an island. At 12:30 other rocks in the water. The river is one chain in width. Meadow on the right; land low on the left. At 12:40 a stream on the left. At 1, the river is strewn with rocks and the water rapid among the rocks. Several small islands

on the left. A little further, the rapid becomes stronger. The rocks multiply and announce the waterfall that one finds. It makes two small cascades onto the rocks.

In order to make a mill in this spot, it would be necessary to make a dyke on the upper part, and a canal in the part on the right. A mill in this spot will be very well located. It will be able to contribute to the exploitation of the pine fields of the most elevated part of the lands. The river is very navigable below the rapid, for a distance of eight miles, to its mouth. Above, there is another waterfall or a series of rapids which is found in the direction of the cardinal line, which will be our boundary with Watson. Rock type is granitous. Went back down the river and up the Black River to line 5–6, where I camped.

Saturday, 6 September Continued to go up the Black River. Left at 6 and a half. Arrived at Independence River. Examined the two large rocks and took the alignment for the location of a house to be built for myself, on the plateau above. Beautiful meadow without trees but full of shrubs. Because of the trees which had fallen into the lake, I was able to go up this river with the canoe only a quarter of a mile.

I then walked in the meadow. The plateau is a little dry; but at its summit, one enjoys a beautiful view of the Black River. The height is of sand and covered with a wood of pines and young oaks which has been burned. No lands for wheat in this lot. The low land is more marshy than dry. The water of the Independence is bistre in color and is not good although swift running. Saw the tomb of two Indians at the summit of the plateau, just next to the most suitable location for the house. An Indian hut is between the two rocks. At 2:30, continued my route. At 6:30 arrived at the great fall. Found the loghouse covered with shingles and a third of the floor roughly finished by axe. Fished and caught some trout, carp and suckers.

Sunday, 7 September Viewed the work being done on the house. Had one of the gables made. Waited in vain for the waggon to return.

Monday, 8 September Again waited for the waggon until two and a half, when it arrived without any letter for me. Slept this night again at the great fall.

Tuesday, 9 September Left the remainder of the work to be done on the house to Baptiste's direction. Embarked in the morning to return to the Long falls.[73] Landed two men to look for the cow and an ox which had been lost for several days. Slept at my camp on line 14–15.

Wednesday, 10. 7ber. 1794 Continued my route. Around 10 arrived at the camp below the Long falls.[74] I found Mr. Frey there, the surveyors and all the men, except for four, declaring their wish to abandon us on the pretense of sickness or unwillingness. Mr. Cantine's men had left him behind and

abandoned, very ill with the bloody flux.[75] I immediately went with Mr. Brodhead, and we brought him back on a kind of stretcher.

For three days, the men and surveyors had been doing nothing. I declared Mr. Webster guilty of both lying and laziness, since he had done nothing since the 28th of August. I reproached him for having allowed me to remain unaware of the so-called sickness of his men, who were well enough however to have devoured their provisions in advance. I demanded from Mr. Frey a certificate declaring the departure, before the completion of his work, of the men he had hired and bound. He signed it for me in the presence of Mr. Brodhead, who also signed it. The result of the mutiny was that all the men, at the demand of Mr. Webster for three days of provisions, all left together in the evening. I refused the canoe to Mr. Webster. I paid him nothing: but I did agree to settle with him as soon as Desjardins returned; and, to pay his travel, we reached an agreement to comply with what Mr. Dewitt would decide.

I went with Mr. Frey to the camp above the falls so that neither the canoes nor the provisions which were in this location should be taken. After taking all the men to the other side of the river, we came back at night, having made a torch of hycory [*sic*] bark. Halfway there, we caught sight of a fire that Mr. Brodhead was bringing in order to guide our steps. He informed us of the death of young Van Ver Kell, one of our men. He perished from the after-effects of the bloody flux, his comrades having treated him in the American fashion and making him drink rum with an infusion of astringent roots. I missed him as an excellent young man, as willing to listen as the others were little so. He also informed us that Lindsay and Warren had stayed with the body and to watch Ward, another man very ill with the flux.

Thursday, 11 September Had a grave dug for the body. Mr. Frey left with the canoe to get it but instead of returning, sent back one of his men to tell me that he was going to bury the body there, look after Ward and transport him to the camp. G. Desjardins and I looked after Mr. Cantine, who found himself a little better.

This illness, fear of which was, in large part, the cause of the desertion which we experienced, presents little danger when the sick are reasonable enough to go on a diet and drink rice water abundantly; but it is mortal if one stubbornly persists in drinking rum, and especially, if one eats salt pork, which is the main food and nearly the only food that one can get in the woods. Every year this illness does away with a large number of Americans in the new settlements. They consider it an epidemic and are therefore very frightened of it. There is however no other cause for danger than the poor diet that they observe. As for the cause of the disease, it is due to the cool autumn nights, which, following upon the intense heat of the day, arrest perspiration, when one does not take all the precautions necessary to protect oneself from it, something which is nearly impossible to do in the woods. This perspiration, intercepted, falls back upon the inner organs where it brings on

a catarrh[76] and inflammation, which require only a diet and a soothing regimen in order to dissipate successfully.

Friday, 12 September Messrs. Frey and Brodhead brought back Ward, sick. Warren, one of our men, declared he had been attacked by the illness. All the workers who remained with us engaged themselves, together, to stay until the end of our operations.

Agreement with Mr. Frey that we would bring the sick back to the great fall; that during this time, three men would stay in the camp under the direction of G. Desjardins and would occupy themselves in washing and repairing both their clothes and those of the two men who were going back up with us; that they would make some biscuit and would begin to transport provisions to the bay; that Mr. Brodhead would go back down from the great fall with the two men who are going up with us, and two or three others whom he would get at the Settlement, in order to form a company of men of good will, which would complete our surveying; that these men would begin the operation by transporting provisions for 15 days to the mouth of the River; that Mr. Brodhead would run, first, the great line W sixteen squares in length behind the last line run by Mr. Cantine and up to its striking the bay; that then, from the angle of the last square, he will trace a line N three squares long; 3rd, that he will trace along the coast of the bay, from the end of the 3rd square which shall be found a little beyond the boundary up to the point run by Mr. Frey and myself. 4th, he will terminate the line W, begun and abandoned by Mr. Webster. 5th, he will run some lines S from each angle of a square of the preceding line, to the bay and to the river. 6th, he will run the line 16–17 between those of Messrs. Webster and Cantine. 7th, if he has the time, he will run the 2 lines W, near the boundary, which will remain to be traced by Mr. Constable's surveyor. 8th, finally, one will cross one, two or three perpendicular lines, S and N, to complete the operation, if we have time for it.

Saturday, 13 September Arranged a canoe for transporting Mr. Cantine and Ward. Transported the provisions to the camp and the sick men on board. Left from above the falls at around noon. Arrived at the camp beyond the Beaver River around eight, our canoe taking in much water, and our sick often delaying us.

Sunday, 14 inst At 6:30, continued our travel in fine weather. Stopped very often because of our sick and the leaks. Arrived at about 3 miles from Independence Creek, at 6 in the evening. Mr. Cantine a little better, and Ward very weak.

Monday, 15 September Left at 6:30. We arrived at the settlement only at 9 in the evening, very tired, as were the sick also.

Tuesday, 16 7ber, 1794 Heavy rain all day. I kept one man busy opening a space for a window; another, in repairing the big canoe. Marked the

location for the windows and the fireplace. Transported our belongings into the loghouse. Settled the sick under the tent. Wrote up the directive for the work-projects to be done by Mr. Frey and by myself. Delivered to Mr. Brodhead the one finalized on 12 September.

Objectives that I need to complete:

1st. Make the general description of the tract. 2nd. A report on the division that we have adopted. 3rd. Another on the difficulties that we have experienced, not having found any exterior boundary marked except for the 9 miles for Inman. 4th. A summary of the order that has been followed in the surveying operation, the incidents and accidents that occurred. 5th. Translating the fieldbooks. 6th. The map of the river's entire course, according to my fieldbooks, Messrs. Frey's and Brodheads, to be finished when I go back down to the Long falls. The islands which are found below the great fall[77] need to be drawn and placed on Mr. Cockburn's map. The course of the river's windings need to be plotted with compass and from Inman's line all the way to line 3–4, and from the small hill of pine-trees all the way to line 20–21, which is above the rapid. 7th. Have delivered and transported the provisions for the Brodhead company to the bay, for 15 days, for 6 men, and for 20 days (including time for their transportation), namely 180lbs of bread, 120lbs of meat, and rum.

For Mr. Frey:

1st. He shall calculate in squares the length of each line which touches the river, number them in order, and the surplus on each line of his map, paying attention to an error of 10 chains found on one of the lines by Mr. Webster. 2nd. Continue to protract the map according to the fieldbooks kept until now. 3rd. Continue the report on the description and surveying and on all the details of the operation.

Directive to Mr. G. Desjardins, upon sending him the men:

My friend, I am sending you the small canoe with Mr. Brodhead. This is all that I have been able to gather together, along with the three men, who are remaining with us to finish our operation. It is indispensable that Mr. Brodhead have five men with him: given the load of provisions, he even ought to have six. I am staying at the fall to work on the writing, and it is useless that I return where you are, for the departure and the distribution of the provisions, which you will be able to do very well. I am more needed here, for writing up the maps and fieldbooks. There I will wait with impatience and worry for Desjardins' return. The large canoe is out of service. Harrison, François, Perrot, Caisle and Bowman are the men that I am sending with Mr. Brodhead; but I must tell you in confidence that in regard to Harrison and François, they do not intend to go to the Lake: the first because he is only engaged for a month, and because he asked for his

release in the event that one should wish to make him go further than the camp; and the second, because his weakness, following upon his illness, does not allow him to do so.

However, my friend, one man more to help transport the provisions and another to stay with you, seem to me to be indispensable. Do what you can to keep one with you and to engage the other for transporting the provisions, as much of the time as you are able to do so. If you cannot succeed in having them both, at least try to keep one, and to send the other on with the canoe. There only remains here Baptiste and Warren. The first has crippled his leg while placing the floor and can neither walk nor work, otherwise he would have left to be with you. The second is almost sick. He is the only one who can cut wood and take care of our sick. Mr. Cantine is a bit better. Ward is still sick. We have used up three whole days to arrive here. If you send the canoe back, I ask you to have it bring my large chest, in which there are some belongings necessary for writing up the maps. I forgot some rulers and my overcoat. You can add to it my case of books. I will return everything as soon as Desjardins arrives, and in case you should not have sent back the small canoe, I would use the large one, which I am having repaired. Mr. Brodhead, with you, will arrange for the provisions according to the number of days that he thinks he will need. Concerning the rum, the small barrel is to be used and any bottles that still remain, and I am determined to keep an account in money for the men for any deficit in their rations of this drink, in order to avoid abuses and unfortunate consequences. The canoe will leave only tomorrow. The men will have with them a two-day provision when they leave.

Wednesday, 17 September Prepared departure of Mr. Brodhead and his men. I promised each of them two piastres as a bonus if they remained until the surveying was finished and if Mr. Brodhead was satisfied with their conduct. After their departure, I continued translation of the fieldbooks. Our sick in the same condition, more or less.

Thursday, 18 September Arrival of Desjardins with funds and letters from M. Olive. Continued the translation of the fieldbooks.

Continuation of Desjardins' journey to New York.

Sunday, 17 August 1794 At noon, we embarked on a boat which was going down to Schenectady. For the passage we were charged ¾ of a piastre for each person. We killed a crane, of a species smaller in size than that found in Europe.

M. de Crèvecoeur again spoke to me of settling and spending the winter at Castorland. We had already reflected on this object with Mr. Pharoux, and I did my best to dissuade this young man from a romantic plan for which he had neither the financial means nor the requisite physical strength. But at 17, one believes that everything must turn out as one imagines, and I noticed that

my opinions were not well received.[78] Slept at Aldridge's tavern, on the rapid at German Flats.

Monday, 18 August 1794 At eight in the morning we arrived in Little Falls. Saw Mr. Porteous and de Zeng. This latter interceded to procure for M. Huerne a lodging for next winter in this area, so that M. Huerne will be more able as soon as it is spring to transport himself and his family to Castorland. I made the acquaintance of Mr. Noble, an Irishman, proprietor of Nobleborough and Arthurborough, two patents in our neighborhood.[79] Our boatmen having business in the vicinity, M. Huerne took advantage of this to go see the lodging proposed by M. de Zeng. M. de Crèvecoeur went to see the mills, and I went to examine the work done on the canal, which I found to be slightly advanced: however, the contractors now have an Irishman who appears to me more intelligent in the construction of locks made of wood: for given the way in which they have gone about it, it would cost considerable sums to make them out of masonry.[80] They have therefore limited themselves to building, within the excavation which they made in the rock, wooden locks encased with tarred planks; and the gaps between the blasted-out rock and the wood constructions will be filled in with rock fragments: this will create a workable construction but one of little duration. We had given each other rendez-vous at the inn, for one. But I did not find M. Huerne there. We looked in vain for M. de Crèvecoeur, and at 2:30, our boatmen forced us to depart without him. As there are boats passing by almost every day, we thought that he would rejoin us easily. We got out to sleep in Canajohary.

Tuesday, 19 August We arrived in Schenectady at 9 in the evening, not without running some risk during our nocturnal navigation. The water was very low, and we had a load of 8 barrels of potash.

Wednesday, 20 August We took the stage and arrived in Albany at 11. I saw Mr. Dewitt, the Surveyor-General. Having shown him the map to be discussed, I explained to him our fears and our reasons for hope. I asked him also his opinion on our contract, which I showed him. I perceived that he avoided as much as possible revealing himself in this regard, something which I could only attribute to the fear of compromising himself with our sellers, who are American, while we are foreigners and unable to be either useful for him, or harmful.

Thursday, 21 August M. de St. John de Crèvecoeur arrived. I made a private agreement with M. Huerne for 450 acres of land, according to the clauses decided upon between us and Pharoux, at the rate of two dollars an acre, and on condition of settling it or having it settled next spring. We arranged our passage to New York on the sloop *Commerce*, Captain Moore. I came to an agreement with Mr. Graham to buy the house which we were living in for the sum of one thousand pounds, 23,000 # of France.[81]

Friday, 22 August 1794 We left only at 5 in the evening. It turned out that instead of Captain Moore, the sloop was commanded by an old Dutchman who understood nothing about his job. He immediately gave us proof of this by running aground a mile from the city.

Saturday, 23 August Second grounding 5 miles from Albany, on the Overslaught, very bad channel in the river, over which there is only six feet of water at high tide in the summer, and which prevents ships that are in any way large from going all the way up to Albany. There has been talk for some time of making a canal there, but the engineers, the men and the money will, for a long time, be lacking in this country.

Sunday, 24 inst Third grounding, at 15 miles, across from Coymans. Our captain appears determined not to miss a sand-bar.

Monday, 25 August A little above Baltimore, the sloop proceeded to hit a rock in the middle of the River. There was, on the rock, only the strict amount of room for the ship. The alarm was great. The hold was checked, the ship inspected: we were out only our fear and the time waiting for the tide to come back. I had the audacity to tell the captain that at the rate he was going we would get to New York just in time for New Year's. These gentlemen have no sense of humor. He became quite angry; informed me that on his ship he was master; that no one was to contradict his maneuver; etc. etc. We did indeed have a great deal of trouble to get him to digest our joking, which Americans in general simply do not understand.

Tuesday, 26 August 1794 Contrary wind. With the tide, we were able to get only as far as Poughkeepsie.

Wednesday, 27 inst We passed the Highlands; then, had to remain at anchor in a very violent headwind. The length of our traversing having made us short of provisions, the captain went ashore, whence he brought back for us some bread and fruits, which he had some trouble in procuring.

Thursday, 28 August Very violent headwind. Had to remain at anchor in the shelter of the point of the Tappan Zee. M. Huerne was counting on getting out there, his farm being in this neighborhood; but it was impossible to put the canoe into the sea.

Friday, 29 August Arrived in New York at eight in the morning. I went to see Mr. Olive; he told me that he had received our letters and maps. He had me read his correspondence with Mr. Tench Coxe, who had promised him 1100 piastres as an advance on the draft for one thousand pounds sterling. He gave me James Constable's response, as authorized agent for his brother, to our letter. As this answer was completely dilatory and answered nothing, I engaged M. Olive to ask Mr. Constable for a meeting for the next day. We received his answer for the next day at 10, at M. Olive's. M. Ledet the son

was willing to be there with me as an interpreter should the need arise. I saw Mr. William Seton for the funds necessary for the purchase of my house.

Saturday, 30 August 1794 Discussion with Mr. James Constable, who came accompanied by Colonel Ward.[82] The Colonel claimed, at first, that this affair concerned him, as he was the owner of Nos. 5 and 6, which he had bought from Mr. Constable, and which the said Mr. Constable had resold to us on his behalf. I told him that we were unaware of, and wished to be unaware of, such strange arrangements; and I showed him, from the preamble to our constitution,[83] that he had indeed come to Paris to execute the sale as agent for Mr. Constable and not as owner, two qualities that are quite contrary to each other. Moreover, Mr. Constable having sold to us, having signed the contract of sale and the receipt for the money that we had paid, we do not recognize, we do not want to recognize, anyone but him; and it is to him alone that we will address ourselves to obtain the possession of that which he has sold to us, and that for which we have paid him.

These gentlemen seeing that I held firmly to this point, we proceeded to the objects under discussion: that of knowing whether we would have 220,500.00 acres according to our contract, or 210,500, as Mr. James Constable had ordered his surveyor Mr. Cockburn, was brought to a conclusion by reading the title: he gave as his excuse his brother's orders; said that it was a misunderstanding, and promised me a letter on this matter to have this error rectified by Mr. Cockburn. That of the ratification by Madame Constable was also recognized as just, and they told me that they had written to London, and that they were expecting the act on the next ships; that, at the time of the contract, Madame Constable was in New York; that then, having gone to join her husband in London, she and the letters passed each other, which brought about the delay. I answered that it would have been very easy for Mr. Constable to send his wife's ratification from London to M. Chassanis, which would have obviated the delay that we were experiencing; that, moreover, I was hopeful that we should have satisfaction on this article as promptly as one would have us presume.

The only point which remained to be decided was the outline of our tract. Mr. Constable claimed that if the line from the corner of Totten and Crossfield does end up striking the Black River before reaching the Lake, we cannot go further; and that, in order to make up our deficit, he will give us land from the back areas, at the expense of Watson and Greenleaf's tracts (very bad lands). My claim, on the contrary, was that, according to our title, we were sold land all along the Black River, from the corner of Inman's triangle all the way to the Lake; and that therefore our terrain must extend all the way to the Lake and maintain its boundaries such as they are described in the contract, except for changing the Totten and Crossfield line which, as it is only an artificial line, can be varied at will. As this article was the important point and the one to which we hold the most, given that on

this depends our being given good lands or bad ones, the discussion was put off until Monday morning at Mr. Constable's.

M. Olive and his associates decided to purchase Penet's square. The purchase was made in my name, as having the right to own lands: and these gentlemen promised us, to Pharoux and to myself, the tenth part of the profits for the care and attention which we should give it.[84]

They had me make the acquaintance of M. Merieult*[85] and engaged me to entrust with him an unsold bale of lawn[86] which I still had worth three thousand piastres. As this merchandise does not sell here, they told me that they were taking advantage of the same opportunity to get rid of theirs.

Sunday, 31 August 1794 I went to consult with Mr. Harrisson, a man of the law, to whom M. Le Ray de Chaumont had recommended us, although I knew that he like many others was secretly interested in this immense tract of land, of which Mr. Constable appears to be the owner. I showed him our title, the map and the reports that we had drawn up. He agreed with me on the principle that when in a land-title natural and artificial boundaries are set forth, should the case arise that they have to be changed, and since it is impossible to disturb the natural boundaries, it is the artificial ones that must be moved out or in; in the case of our tract, as we were bounded on the S by the Black River and on the W by Lake Ontario, we should keep these two natural limits such as they were granted us by the contract, if these people wish to fulfil their engagements, but with the proviso of changing Inman's lines and those of Totten and Crossfield, if the case so requires, given that these lines, being purely artificial and not even marked, can without inconvenience be transposed. I engaged Mr. Harrison to be at our meeting the next day.

I also saw Mr. Macomb, who was the apparent owner before Mr. Constable. He appeared to recognize the justice of our claim & promised to be also at the meeting. He asked me some details about the region, which I gave him; and he said to me that, in the event that Numbers 5 and 6 should be found to contain more than 600,000 acres, there would fall to him a portion of the profits of the sale.[87]

As our claim tended to demonstrate an increase in the size of these two tracts, I did believe that I could be more or less sure of his support in this matter.

Monday, 1st September 1794 I went to get Mr. Harrison, and we went to the meeting at Mr. Constable's, where I found Mr. Macomb and Colonel Ward. This latter again wanted to show me the title of sale for Nos. 5 and 6 made to him by Mr. William Constable.

I told him that, once again, I was keeping to our title, that I recognized Mr. William Constable to be my seller, and did not want and ought not to have to deal with anyone but him alone. Mr. Harrison supported my opinion. The Colonel pocketed his parchment, and we resumed the discussion.

Then Mr. James Constable told us that his authority did not extend to the point where he could change anything in our title; and that, as we ourselves were commissioners, our own men perhaps did not have this latitude; that, in consequence, he would write to his brother about this and would wait for his answer and decision in this matter. Upon my answering him that, while waiting, our surveying remained therefore unfinished, and we would not be in possession of property which for eighteen months had been bought and paid for, a fact which, in itself, would set us back by more than 2 years because the boundaries could not be run this year, he replied that the fault was no one's, that at the time of the contract neither seller nor buyer knew the course of the river.

I countered that the difference was an important one; that we had purchased land based on seeing a map which had been presented to us on behalf of Mr. William Constable; that we believed this map to be exact; and that the error on our part was founded on the confidence that we had in his brother's scrupulousness, whom we could not suspect of sending us maps of which he would not have been certain; that the purchaser might very well be unaware of the quality and the details of the object bought, but that the seller, as one who had possessed, could not be supposed to not know what he was selling; that, accordingly, the purchaser, being harmed, and the seller, being unable to fulfil his engagements, although of good faith, this latter still had to compensate his purchaser.

So finished our discussion; and I had to leave things there, our powers not being officialized, and Pierre Chassanis not even having the right to possess.[88] A demurrer would have peremptorily answered our first judicial step, and furthermore we would have been out for the expenses.

I left with M. Olive authority to draw cash and give receipts to Mr. Tench Coxe, as well as for selling some lots of land to farmers, should any present themselves. Arranged my departure for the next day.[89]

Tuesday, 2 September 1794 I received in the morning a letter from Mr. Tench Coxe informing me that he had an order to pay us £ 500 Sterling more; which gave me great pleasure, as we thus found ourselves able to finish our operation.

At 5 in the evening I left for Albany, with a good wind.

Wednesday, 3 September Rather good wind. I had as traveling companion a Frenchman whom I recognized as the son of a saddler in the rue de Beaune, in Paris. He related to me the inconveniences that he had experienced in this country. Among other things, the farm which he had bought near Esopus belonged only in part to his seller, and the co-holders had come, to his great surprise, to ask him for their share, only four in number. This affair ruined him; however, he had fortunately found in New York an honest man who had undertaken to defend him and get him his money back. I urged him, if he succeeded, to look to Castorland, getting him to understand that the

French would always be deserving of sympathy in this country as long as they did not unite together, as do the Germans and other nations who come to settle here. He disembarked at Poughkeepsie.

Thursday, 4 September Good wind. Arrived at 4 in the afternoon in Albany. Although we have only been twice 24 hours en route, the Captain still took from us 3 dollars for the food because, as he said, he had already purchased his provisions.

Friday, 5 September Conferred with Mr. DeWitt on the subject of our surveying. I shared with him what had transpired in New York. He told me that the case was embarrassing, etc., that, indeed, the line N87W, which had been given us for our boundary and which was traced on the map of the State, had been traced out in the study and not on the ground, so that he himself, the Surveyor General, was not capable of deciding this authoritatively. He did promise, when he was in a condition to rule on this matter, to do all that depended on him in this respect. He assured me that these 2 lines, the one N87W and the one making the boundary N between Wolf and No. 3, were now drawn and that the matter would be cleared up soon.

Saturday, 6 September I saw M. Le Couteulx, a new associate in Albany, of the house of Olive and Chériot, as well as M. and Madame de La Tour du Pin who, having escaped from the hands of Robespierre and from his lieutenant-general in Bordeaux, Tallien, came like us to seek a temporary asylum in this country.[90] I advised them to buy a small farm in the surrounding area, as being the most economical means to subsist. My wife was attacked violently with catarrh and oppression,[91] as a consequence of the fatigue and sleepless nights which she had experienced in taking care of her son, who was suffering from a very strong attack of dysentery: he got better by the use of calming remedies, while many persons of every age have succumbed under the heating regimen of American doctors.

Sunday, 7. 7ber. 1794 Received a letter from M. Olive, who informs me of the deposit made to him by Mr. Tench Coxe of the eleven hundred dollars, as well as the signing of the purchase of Penet's square.

Monday, 8 September Saw again Mr. DeWitt, who informed me of the arrival of Mr. Campbell, surveyor, who had just run our line N87W. I took down his address, and I went to see him on behalf of Mr. DeWitt. On inspecting his maps and fieldbooks, I saw then that, indeed, the line did come to strike the Black River at the spot where we had supposed it to, but that the river making soon after a bend and taking a direction almost directly opposite, the same line crossed it again and headed toward the Lake, leaving us a fringe of land between it and the Black River. The surveyor had however, only made his line go as far as the Bay, without having it continue through the Peninsula which, according to this bearing, is also found in our portion. With

his permission, I made a sketch of the line. As for the copy of his fieldbook, he will be able to give it to me only after it has been deposited in the office of the Surveyor General.

Tuesday, 9 September 1794 I made up my dispatches for France and New York. I charged Mr. Ainsley, of Cataracoui, who was arriving from Lake Ontario, and left in the evening for New York, with them. He gave me two letters of recommendation for King'stown, in the event that we go there this autumn, and assured me that we could bring out from there livestock and flour at a better rate than from Fort Schuyler, something which, in addition, would avoid enormous transportation costs.[92] I collected from him all the information in this regard which could be useful to the Company. He even offered to give me some markets for furnishing these items next year.

Wednesday, 10 inst As my wife, although still bed-ridden, found herself out of danger, I made ready my departure and took my funds to the bank, five hundred piastres in money and seven hundred in bank notes.

Thursday, 11 September Left in the stage: slept at Schenectady. Among our co-voyagers I found Mr. Poland and a Dutch doctor who were going to visit Messrs. Boon and Mappa in their new settlement: they spoke French and made very pleasant company.

Friday, 12 inst Took the stage for Canajoharie, where we arrived at seven in the evening. 36 miles from Schenectady.

Saturday, 13 September 1794 The routes were so bad that we had to spend the night three miles from Fort Schuyler, at Mr. Briton's, a tavern where one is treated rather well and lodged as well as one can be in a loghouse.

Sunday, 14 September Arrived at Fort Schuyler at 10 in the morning, at Mr. Post's. There I met Mr. Cockburn, the father, who was returning after surveying the coast of the Lake from great Salmon Creek all the way to an area across from Carleton Island. I handed him the letter that Mr. Constable had written for him on the subject of our boundaries. Our title having been duly read, we had a long discussion. He claimed that according to our very title, we could be moved back to the corner of Totten and Crossfield, since the line N87W, which was our given boundary, began at this point; and that, thus, without changing the line, as we were proposing to do, by replacing our deficit with Watson's and Greenleaf's tracts, we had no reason for complaint. I said to him that, even if the lack of precision in the English expression in the title were to authorize one to stretch its meaning, and even if the sales made to Watson and Greenleaf were not a palpable proof that Mr. Constable had understood the retrenchment in the same sense as we did; that, even in conceding everything he was saying, it would none the less be the case that we would not have the course of the Black River as boundary from Inman's point all the way to the Lake, something which Mr. Constable had expressly

sold to us and in all equity ought to deliver to us, something which could not happen except by giving to the lines their true bearing instead of that of the compass; by means of which, without even changing the nomenclature of these lines, and making them, on the contrary, exact and invariable, one would do us justice without causing harm to anyone. I well could see that my reasons did not persuade, due to a stronger reason, which was that in following our plan, one would give us excellent lands, and that in following theirs, one would provide us with very bad ones. I still got from Mr. Cockburn a copy of the boundary line and of the map of our bay. Around two, I was completely surprised to see Mr. Webster and most of our men arrive, their packs on their backs. He told me that they were all coming back except for six who had stayed with Mr. Pharoux; that Mr. Frey would come the next day; that Mr. Cantine had remained behind, very ill; and that dysentery had introduced itself among the squad. This news, although I believed it to be exaggerated, made me decide to leave right away, in spite of the disadvantage of having found no one to go with me. I got a horse at Mr. Post's, but getting lost in the woods, I spent the night only eight miles from Fort Schuyler, in a loghouse that I fortunately came upon on the Holland-patent.[93]

Monday, 15 7ber. 1794 I arrived in the morning at Steuben, over very difficult pathways. At the Baron's I saw the Chevalier de Berthoux, who was coming to settle in the region. He made me some proposals for purchasing some of our land. I had met him in New York, at Colonel Walker's.[94]

Tuesday, 16 September Rain and thunder which lasted all day held me up at the Baron's. M. Berthoux made me various proposals; but we could not come to an understanding, and I advised him to accept the generous offers of the Baron, at whose home, moreover, he would sometimes find the pleasures of society, which one had to give up entirely once one decided to plunge into the woods.

Wednesday, 17 September 1794 The bad weather still held me up, besides the fact that I could find no one to go with me.

Thursday, 18 inst As the weather had abated a little, I decided to leave, although alone and the road made even worse by the torrential rain and overflowing creeks. I made the 24 miles in a single ride. I arrived at the settlement at 4, without any other accident, save for one fall, as in spite of all my efforts, my horse had fallen down while climbing up the steep side of a marshy creek. It was fortunate that I had no fracture. I extricated my horse from the mud, repaired, as best I could, the broken straps, all the while congratulating myself at having got off at this cost. Indeed, if, in these spots, one were to end up breaking a leg, one would have to resolve oneself to perish cruelly, unless chance should bring someone there in time to help you. I was surprised to see Pharoux bring me the canoe himself. I gave him rather good news, whereas he told me of some extremely unfortunate news, and his emaciated condition made me quite aware of all that he had suffered during

his expedition to the Lake. The mare which had brought me, frightened at the noise of the fall, lost its head and let itself be drawn into the bend; we had a great deal of trouble in getting her out of it. I found Mr. Cantine convalescent but still very weak: he decided to take advantage of my horse, to return to Fort Schuyler. Baptiste could scarcely begin to walk, as the wound on his leg had not yet closed. Ward was nearly on the brink of expiring and Warren, saying that he was indisposed, came up with the pretense, in order to leave, of wanting to go with Mr. Cantine because of his weakness, promising us to come back; but I foresaw that he would do nothing of the sort. Their fear of getting sick was making all of them sick.

19 September 1794 *Settlement*. Departure of Mr. Cantine and Warren, the only man we had left. Desjardins paid Mr. Cantine out of the funds that he had brought. This surveyor had always conducted himself perfectly well with us, and maintained good order and a working spirit in his squad, up to the time of his illness. We spent the day, Pharoux and myself, in discussing what had happened during our mutual absence. Mr. Frey continued working on the map.

Saturday, 20 September We worked on translating the fieldbooks and on our map.

Sunday, 21 inst Butterfield and other neighbors arrived, whom we had alerted to come take Ward and transport him to their habitations, more within reach of the help he would need: but, finding him so weak, they did not want to take the risk of moving him, even on a stretcher. We continued with the map and translation of the fieldbooks.

Monday, 22 September 1794 As soon as it was morning, we indeed found that poor Ward had died. Mr. Frey and Baptiste dug the grave. Ward was buried in a large blanket that Desjardins had lent him, and we gave him the last rites as best we could. In the evening, there arrived a messenger from the Baron: he was bringing us some vegetables and chocolate. We wrote to the Baron to thank him and asked him to send us some men, whatever the cost might be, finding ourselves completely abandoned and unable either to return to Steuben or rejoin our men at the Long falls without leaving everything here in a state of neglect.

Pharoux was on this day attacked by illness. The bloody flux manifested itself violently. We gathered some handfuls of rice which remained in the bottom of the barrel, to make a drink of it. As Mr. Frey also found himself unwell, he asked to take advantage of the Baron's servant's horse being there, to leave us.

Tuesday, 23 September In the morning, we brought across Mr. Frey and the Baron's servant. This servant told us that the rumor of contagious disease was probably preventing the workers from coming to work for us. Mr. Frey promised us to come back when he was better; but we saw in fact that this was pure politeness on his part, and that he was so frightened as he went

away that he did not even dare look behind him. Pharoux still extremely unwell. We continued translating the fieldbooks.

Wednesday, 24 7ber. 1794 Pharoux still tortured by colic and the flux, but less intensely. Desjardins is also beginning to be affected by the same illness; continue working on the map and fieldbooks.

Thursday, 25 inst Pharoux better but very weak; Desjardins more indisposed. Baptiste is beginning to be affected by dysentery and more important, we had no more rice, the only remedy to our illness. Same work.

Friday, 26 September Pharoux very weak, Desjardins unwell, Baptiste violently ill and without strength. Desjardins, the only one in a condition to walk, had decided to go on foot to Steuben to get help, when the oxen and the sheep, which had been lost for several days, came back to the settlement. Some time later, we heard*[95] the mare of Caish, one of our men, which had disappeared for two months and which had we believed had perished in some swamp, given the failing condition in which she was then. As she had become a bit wild we had to make an effort to catch her. We succeeded, and it was a consolation for us to have this means of sending Baptiste to Steuben, where he would be able to get help for us. It was very hard for him to accept leaving us in our debilitated condition: we decided that it was up to him to save himself first, as he was the one most ill, and all the more so as he could not be of any help to us here, and as we still felt ourselves strong enough to wait for the help that he would send us.

In the evening, there arrived from Fort Stanwix a sheriff who was coming to arrest Mr. Frey for what he owed his men. We gave him some supper and a place to sleep, and engaged him to go with Baptiste when he went back. This man appeared to us frightened at the rumors of the illness, and the situation in which he found us confirmed him in his fear.

Saturday, 27 September In the morning, we brought Baptiste and the sheriff over. We had the mare cross to the other side by swimming. With much regret, Baptiste left us in our sad condition and promised to send us, whatever the cost, men in sufficient number to have a canoe go down to the Long falls in order to give G. Desjardins news of us and learn what news he had, to watch over our loghouse, and to finish those things most needing attention. We therefore found ourselves reduced to us two, very anxious about our situation, about the condition of G. Desjardins and that of our men on the bay, should they be attacked by the same illness, too far away to come to our aid or even to share news with each other.

Sunday, 28 September Still weak and sick, providing care for each other in turn, and at our complete leisure philosophizing on the chain of circumstances that had brought us to the shores of the Black River, in the best of all possible worlds.[96]

Monday, 29 September 1794 Received the visit of Crandle, one of our men. He came to get his pay and was the bearer of three letters, two from Mr. Frey and one from Mr. Cantine. Desjardins paid Crandle, and we responded to Mr. Frey who, in his letter, sought to excuse himself and justify the payment he claimed to have to make to the men who had abandoned us. As our indisposition was increasing, we resolved not to wait for our strength to weaken further, and to go the next day on foot to Butterfield's, 7 miles away, in order to procure horses for ourselves and oxen to transport our chests to Steuben.

Tuesday, 30 September 1794 This past night, there was heavy rain and strong winds. Trees had been uprooted around us at regular intervals. This made us decide to put off our trip until the next day, as we felt we still had some strength, and hoped to get help from Steuben. In the evening, a man called out to us from the opposite shore, asking for a Frenchman whose name he did not say. He did not want to say on whose behalf he came. We hesitated, considering whether we should bring him over; finally, seeing that he was alone, we decided to do so. After we got him across, he told us that he came to offer to negotiate with us for salt meat and flour, for the provisions for next year. As this man looked suspicious and, upon our again asking him on whose behalf he had come, provided no name, we sent him back over immediately. It was known that we had money, that we were sick and abandoned: and this could arouse temptations of violence.

We wrote in advance to G. Desjardins, instructing him as to what he would have to do in case he should come back up. So that those who should come and find the house abandoned would notice the letter immediately, it was placed in a visible spot. We made a hole in the earth under the house, and there we buried the money that it was impossible for us to carry. We made ready our portfolios,[97] the only package within our strength.

Wednesday, 1st October 1794 Left at eight in the morning. Attached the canoe on the other side, as securely as we could. Desjardins more violently indisposed; but Pharoux weaker and scarcely able to walk. It was only with difficulty that we made it to the top of the slope, although we had in our arms only our portfolios. We had to rest ourselves at frequent intervals. The sky was serene fortunately and the weather somewhat warm. At noon we had gone four miles, when we encountered the Baron's old servant who was bringing us Caish's mare. He was bringing us letters from Madame Desjardins, M. Olive, M. Coxe & from the Baron. This man came with us all the way to Topping's, a clearing 6½ miles from the great fall on our road and a mile ½ from Butterfield's.[98] There we rested ourselves. The Baron sent us word that the fear of getting our illness prevented people from coming and was stronger than their love for piastres; finally, he encouraged us to come as soon as possible to his home to restore ourselves. From there, we went to Butterfield's, where we had supper and slept on the floor, while waiting for some oxen that he promised us and that he could not furnish us.

Thursday, 2 October 1794 We resolved to get to Mr. Boon's settlement, 4 miles further, hoping that Edmond the manager could procure for us the oxen, waggon and men that we needed.[99] We took to the road again and followed it all the way to the point where the road to Mr. Boon's mill crosses it. Desjardins, who up to now had not wanted to ride, made use of the sorry mare, taking his turn, as he found himself very tired. We arrived at the settlement towards noon. It is eleven miles from the great fall. We sent our man to inquire if one could procure what we needed, and while waiting, we had some milk soup that restored some of our strength. At two, our man came back to inform us that they could not obtain either men or waggons for us. We resolved to spend the night at Edmond's, since it was too late to hope to reach Steuben, we being able to go only at a walk.

The saw-mill is not yet finished; but the settlement is beginning to take shape nicely. A good loghouse made of pines stripped of their bark, the joints of which are filled in with a kind of plaster; much of the woods felled; good fountain water; and rather abundant creek for the mills that are planned.

Friday, 3 8ber. 1794 At 6 in the morning we again set out on foot, riding the horse by turns. We arrived very tired at Steuben at 2 hours after noon. The man, who had accompanied us, took a dollar per day from us. It was only at this price that they had been able to convince him to come to Castorland, and he had been the only one whom Baptiste had been able to find. The Baron received us as survivors who had escaped from a shipwreck. He told us that it had been impossible for him, by promise or otherwise, to convince any of his people to come to our help, they were so afraid of getting our illness. He assured us that Baptiste, lodged a half-mile away, was much better. Some rice water was made for us right away. What a pleasure it was for us to find ourselves again among human beings, and our minds at ease in regard to our situation! There remained to us no further worry, except for the fate of G. Desjardins and Mr. Brodhead, news of whom we could not get, and we feared that they might also have been attacked as we had been. The Baron made us realize our lack of prudence in getting ourselves so far into the woods without our having one or two families of reliable people and at least a pair of good horses ready to carry us. He considered us as being very fortunate in having escaped. We took his friendly admonition with gratitude and promised him to be wiser next year. We did not deem it fitting to give as our excuse the low funding provided by our Company, which had not let us do as he was suggesting and which had forced us to economize on everything in order to undertake the survey as being the most urgent task and the foundation for everything else, hoping to receive during this time help from Europe, which would render us capable of working on a larger scale.

We sent to look for the oxen and waggons.

Saturday, 4 8ber We went to see Baptiste, whom we found to be much better. The good food brought back Pharoux's strength. Desjardins, still ill

with the flux, limited himself to rice water for all his food, and benefited from this. A traveling surgeon procured for us some hipecacuanha,[100] which in our situation we considered as a treasure. In the evening, we made a business agreement with a man who engaged himself to furnish us oxen and a waggon to go back the next day to get our belongings.

Sunday, 5 inst The waggon left as soon as it was morning. Soon after Pharoux followed it on Caish's mare. This mare, tired from having already made the trip 3 times, could scarcely walk and more than once fell in the muddy areas. Pharoux, obliged to drag her behind him for half the way, only rejoined the waggon around 4 in the evening, 5 miles from the great fall, where he arrived at 6. Four miles from Steuben he had met Perrot and Sabourin, our two Canadians, who informed him of the illness of Mr. Brodhead and some men, which had made them come back to the settlement, where they had found our letter. Two men had gone back down by canoe to bring it to G. Desjardins.

Monday, 6 October 1794 *Pharoux*. I had to spend the night without a fire, as our men had left none covered when they left the house, and myself having no steel. I dug out the sack of money, and I packed some of our belongings. I brought them across with the help of the waggoner, and we loaded the waggon, which it was first necessary to repair. But when it came to going up the slope, our oxen were unable to do so. We found ourselves forced to unload the chests, to bring them up by hand and to reload them up on the slope. Meanwhile, Caish's mare, which I had tied up, escaped into the woods. In the course of a mile, the waggon broke down three times; and after four miles, it broke down so badly that it was not possible to repair it. We had to abandon our belongings. I went a half-mile with the waggoner and under the pretext of going back to retrieve some papers, I returned by myself to bring the money with me. The waggoner, curious, came back to see what was holding me up; but my package was done and did not appear to be money. I was very tired from carrying my package, plus my rifle on my shoulder when, after about a mile, I encountered Mr. Cantine, who was on horseback. I put the money into his saddle-bags and climbed up onto his horse, all the way to Topping's, where I saw Caish in better health and his mare which had returned. From there, we went on horseback, Mr. Cantine and I, to spend the night at Mr. Boon's mill.

Desjardins. I found myself much better. I no longer lacked anything except my strength. Perrot & François arrived as soon as it was morning, very tired from both illness and walking. I sent them to the tavern where Baptiste was lodged. They reassured me about my brother, whom they said they had left in good health, and the only one who had not felt the effects of the flux. Our letter having reached him, I am waiting for him to arrive soon with the rest of our men. Mr. Cantine arrived on horseback, bringing us letters from Mr. Frey. I informed him of our situation and engaged him to go meet up with Pharoux

who could be in need of his help, being not yet quite recovered and alone with the waggoner. After dining at the Baron's, he left very obligingly, and that put my mind a bit more at ease in this respect.

Tuesday, 7 October 1794 Pharoux left with Mr. Cantine from Edmond's at seven in the morning. Arrived in Steuben at two. We read Mr. Frey's letter and reports, which reports we found very inflated. We wrote him the following response:

> Sir: We learn with pleasure the recovery of your health. Mr. Brodhead and his men have also been ill, and we have not been any more exempt from this. It appears that it is general in the region. We have received your general report and the individual one. We have too many observations to give you on these reports to be able to discharge them to you, without discussing them with you beforehand. Desiring to put you within reach of your getting free from the hindrances in which you have indicated to us you find yourself, we have entrusted Mr. Cantine, bearer of your letter and your receipts, with a sum of two hundred pounds in notes on the Bank of Albany, to be remitted to you. We have not kept your receipts: we contented ourselves with a receipt from Mr. Cantine. It is absolutely necessary that we have a general report, in which shall be found included the individual accounts of Messrs. Cantine, Webster, Brodhead and of their men, as well as all those who have disbursed their own funds. We count on your reducing willingly several requests, which, as it appears to us, ought not to be granted, and which our duty as commissioners, requires us to watch over even more carefully than if it were our own interest which we had to defend. Moreover, we think that if there arise any disagreements (we are not presuming that there will be), we will refer them to the judgement of Mr. Dewitt. We are, etc.[101]

Settled with and paid François and Perrot, who left for Fort Schuyler.

Wednesday, 8 October We found ourselves completely recovered. There remained only a severe weakness in our legs and lower backs. We looked in vain for a waggon and oxen to go back and get our belongings. Baptiste, also recovered, came to rejoin us at the Baron's.

Thursday, 9 October 1794 We recovered some of our strength. We examined with the Baron the means for gathering, bringing together and conducting the waters from the upper fountains into the area where he is proposing to construct a pond. Pharoux traced out, following the Baron's ideas, the projected plan of his house.[102] In the evening, Francisque, the Steuben blacksmith, whom Baptiste brought us, engaged himself at the rate of three dollars per day to go repair the waggon and bring it back with two pair of oxen.

Friday, 10 inst Fully recovered, we took the levels and marked the course for the waters. Pharoux made the plan of the pond, and a project for surveying Penet's square, purchased by M. Olive and company.

Saturday, 11 inst We were busy as on the previous day. Settled with Mr. Sezard for the room and board of our sick men.

Sunday, 12 inst *id*. Our waggon arrived with our belongings.

Monday, 13 inst Mr. Boon came to Steuben. We took advantage of this opportunity to unburden ourselves of the surplus provisions which the interruption to the surveying had left us and which could not be kept for next year. He and the Baron engaged themselves to take them at cost, and Mr. Boon allowed us to take his waggon to bring our belongings back.

Tuesday, 14 8ber. 1794 Pharoux copied the map of the road from Steuben to Fort Schuyler, and that of the Baron's patent, to use them in making the general map. We found and hired two waggoners and four oxen to go to the great fall. Settled with and paid Caish.

Wednesday, 15 inst The waggoners arrived only at one hour past noon. At two, Pharoux and Baptiste left in the waggon with them. Stopped at 7 nine miles from Steuben, and after walking a little in the night, slept in a little hut.

Thursday, 16 inst Left at 6 in the morning. Encountered G. Desjardins and 2 men bringing back 5 oxen and the sheep which remained to us. They were coming to Steuben to get our waggon. We returned together to Edmond's, who delivered Mr. Boon's waggon to us, and agreed to come to the road to pick up the barrels when we returned. At 4 we arrived at the Black River, where Mr. Brodhead had stayed to guard some belongings that had been brought up from the Long falls.

Friday, 17 inst We wrapped up all the belongings that could be transported and buried the rest, such as sharpening stones, marble, axes, etc. We brought the chests over and loaded them into the waggons which, by our harnessing the eight oxen one after the other, managed to get up the slope. The 2 canoes were drawn up, with the help of the oxen, as high as we could into the woods, to put them out of reach of floodings, and having turned them over and attached them with strong stakes, we covered them over with branches.

G. Desjardins told me that while going up the river he had met some Indians from Montreal, who had already established their winter quarters at the junction of the Beaver and Black Rivers. We left on the door of the loghouse an inscription, in English and in French, to invite our brothers to use it, but to be careful about accidents with fire. Finally, at 11, we left the Black River, our two waggons heavily loaded. Ours turned over once. We rested at Topping's and camped nine miles from the fall at six in the evening.

Saturday, 18 8ber. 1794 I left Geoffroy and Baptiste to watch over the waggons, and I went on ahead with Mr. Brodhead all the way to Mr. Boon's mill, to alert Edmond. We breakfasted at his home, and he came with us on

the road. Edmond opened the barrel of pork and the 2 of flour which we left to him, gave his receipt for them, attesting that they were of good quality. I then continued to go on ahead with Mr. Brodhead, and around 4 in the evening we arrived in Steuben.

Sunday, 19 October At 10 in the morning G. Desjardins arrived with the waggons and men. We repacked our trunks, placed belongings in our store, reserved some oxen to make up two waggons for us and to conduct us to Fort Schuyler. Gave our sheep to the Baron. Made ready our departure. Paid the balance due Mr. Brodhead, who left with his men to finish the surveying of Inman.

Monday 20. 8ber. 1794 Left at 8 in the morning. The Baron promised to have paid to us in Albany the 22 pounds, the total for the provisions that we were leaving him. Arrived at noon at Mr. Boon's, where we dined. He paid us 34 pounds, 12 shillings for the items that he had decided to take from us. We found the settlement well along. The house, of 5 front windows and 2 stores, is entirely finished, covered with wood, glassed, etc. The farm buildings, the flour-mill and the saw-mill are finished; sixty acres cleared: everything is the result of 18 months work; but too, there was no lack of money.

At 5:30, slept in a loghouse 4 miles from Mr. Boon. In the night, the chimney, made of wood slats, with earthen mortar, caught fire: we helped extinguish it, and they were happy to have our help. The house was scarcely finished: wind and snow entered on all sides.

Tuesday, 21 inst Left at 6 for Fort Schuyler, ahead of the waggoners. At one, arrived at Mr. Post's. Paid our calls to Messrs. Kip, Peter Smith and others. Around three, the waggon arrived. We had the tent pitched at the edge of the water, locked up our belongings inside and preferred, to the tavern beds where dirt and vermin reigned, to sleep there on the mattresses on board. Paid off the balance due 2 men who remained with us, Bowman and Lindsay, as they refused to return with us in the batteau all the way to Schenectady and were asking an unreasonable price for something which they themselves desired.

Wednesday, 22 8ber. 1794 We found some other men who were very happy to have this opportunity to go down the river and who did not ask for anything more than the food. Lindsay and Bowman then came back to offer themselves on the same footing, but we refused them. Not having been able to find a place to keep our oxen for the winter in Fort Schuyler, we sent them back to Mr. Boon, who had offered us to keep them *gratis*, if we wanted to leave them with him until the first of June. We informed him of the searches that we had made for our lost ox and cow. They had been seen at Steuben, and here, we were told that they had been seen at Doctor Guitteau's,[103] where the ox had even died. We also left the same note with Mr. Post, to continue the search and make a claim, if there should be reason to do so. We loaded up

our old batteau to go back down and left the new one in the care of Mr. Post. Left at 11:30; we arrived at Alridge's inn, at the rapid at German flats, where we spent the night. Mr. Frey came to join us, and to try to get more money from us. We gave him rendez-vous in Albany.

Thursday, 23 October Left at 6 in the morning. Arrived in Little Falls at 9. While Baptiste watched over the portage, we examined the canal work, and we noticed, in the planning, the same lack of knowledge continued; oversight poor and the work unsound. We judged that if they followed the same manner of execution, they could scarcely be finished by the end of the next campaign. We breakfasted at Major de Zeng's and saw many new buildings, which give this wilderness of piled up rocks the appearance of a small village. Left at one. At 5:30 arrived at Spreaker's inn. For three hours we had to endure a snowfall so heavy that the snow was more than two feet deep on the shore, and we had difficulty in reaching the house, especially as we were numb with cold. There we found a nice fire and, what is rarer, a very good supper. This inn is before Anthony's nose.

Friday, 24 inst Left at day-break. Breakfasted at Squire Venable's, 9 miles further down. Heavy snow which lasted all day long. Slept 7 miles from Schenectady in the inn of Wedder, a Dutchman, where we were well treated.

Saturday, 25 inst Left at 6:30. As the snow was melting and our boat taking on water, our trunks were soaked. We arrived at 9:30 in Schenectady, placed the boat and its rigging in the care of Mr. Miller, who procured two waggons for us, in which we loaded our belongings, and which brought them as well as us to Albany, where we arrived at 4 in the evening.

Sunday, 26 October 1794, to Wednesday, 29 inst Unpacked and dried our belongings and papers. Paid our calls. Saw Mr. Mulligan, who did not acquit us the Baron's debt as he had agreed to do. Wrote Mr. Olive regarding the difficulties that Mr. Tench Coxe is making about paying us, and even regarding the demand that he made of M. Olive, to give back to him the 1100 D[ollars] that he had sent him in advance. Wrote M. Olive a letter on the matter of Penet's square. Saw our friend Mr. Thurman, back from his lands and having finished clearing out Wood Creek. Made an outline of our expenses for this year and of those needed next year.

Thursday, 30 October 1794 Arrival of Mr. Frey. Saw Mr. Dewitt on this subject. Agreement that we will give him in writing our observations on the report of the expenses of our chief surveyor. Wrote up these observations.

Friday, 31 inst Busy in the writing up the plans and translating the fieldbooks.

Saturday, 1st November Discussed at Mr. Dewitt's the report of Mr. Frey, and our observations. Saw Messrs. Harrison, Thurman and Livingston.

Sunday, 2 and Monday, 3 November Busy writing and calculating the surface area of our land.

Tuesday, 4 November 1794 Received a letter from Mr. Frey containing Mr. Dewitt's response to our observations. As this response was entirely in an ambiguous and evasive style and sought not to compromise itself in regard to any of the claimants, we found ourselves as advanced as if we had had no arbitration. Moreover, Mr. Frey had taken the laudable precaution of presenting himself before a judge and of having an *affidavit* given him,[104] that is, an attestation that he had sworn, in the presence of the said judge, to have inserted in his report only what was duly and legitimately due him. When therefore an American presents you with such a document, there is nothing more for you to do but to pay him everything he demands, being under the obligation of not entertaining the slightest doubt over the content of his claim, unless you consider him to be a man capable of making a false statement; something which insults the delicacy of his honor and immediately puts him in the position of starting a judicial procedure against you for reparation; and of making you pay very dearly the doubt that you have dared make manifest over his probity, especially if you are a foreigner without support and little versed in the labyrinth of legal chicanery. All of these considerations, and primarily fear of the law, which is even more grasping here than in Europe, made us decide to end the matter by paying, only too happy moreover that the worthy Mr. Frey had set such narrow limits to his sworn statement, the difference amounting to about a hundred piastres. For, if he had not had some remnant of shame, he could have, with just as much reason, inflated and doubled the amount, and, because of his *affidavit*,[105] we would no longer have been allowed to doubt legally his probity. We answered Mr. Frey, giving him rendez-vous for the next day at Mr. Dewitt's.

Wednesday, 5 November Settled with Mr. Frey at Mr. Dewitt's. We had a general receipt given us, after getting an error of eight hundred pounds to his advantage corrected. We gave his affidavit back to him, saying to him that French people considered such documents of no value, and that the word of an honest man was alone worth as much as all possible oaths, since a man unscrupulous enough to make an unjust demand, has no difficulty in making this same demand under oath. Mr. Frey pocketed our money, he made us many thanks. His goal having been reached, the rest went by smoothly, and we separated on good terms. We resolved however to make use of him no longer, and we cast our gaze for the following campaign on Mr. Brodhead, in whom we had recognized energy, perseverance and a good way of maintaining in his men a proper order and a taste for work.[106]

Thursday, 6 November Arrival of Mr. Brodhead. We discussed with him and made a preliminary plan of agreement; but the difficulty that Mr. Coxe

was creating for us over the delivery of the funds promised so long ago, prevented us from concluding a business agreement, we wishing not to make engagements unless we could be sure of being able to fulfill them. All the difficulties which we had experienced made us decide to make no business arrangement unless it were at the rate of so much per mile of length, the work of surveying per diem being ruinous due to the laziness of the men and surveyors; and those on contract being ordinarily very inexact and done hastily. According to the information obtained from Mr. Dewitt and from several persons, we set the price at three dollars per mile, and Mr. Brodhead agreed to this provided we could notify him before he had become engaged for other individuals.

Wednesday, 7 November, to Thursday, 13 inst Worked on the plans and accounting. Unable to obtain any decision from Mr. Coxe, we resolved to make the journey to Philadelphia, to bring this affair about funds to an end, without which we could bring nothing to an end.

Friday, 14 November Left Albany on Mr. Vanderheyden's sloop and with him.

15. 9ber. to the 21 inst Long and tedious journey, impeded by calms and winds. Arrived in New York at 9 in the morning. Paid our calls to Messrs. Olive, Seton, etc.

Saturday, 22 November Busy drawing up the map of the areas which surround our lands in order to lay out the road from Albany to King'stown and to support a petition to the Legislature with the purpose of soliciting the funds necessary for the opening of this road, which will have for the State a general utility and for our company a specific one. Baron de Steuben, Mr. Boon and other large land-owners have promised to support us.

Sunday, 23 inst Continued map of our lands. Saw Messrs. Macomb, Thurman and Ramsay.

Monday, 24 November 1794 Discussed the problem of our boundaries with Mr. James Constable. We gave him a copy of the map, in which are marked out the boundaries as they have been run, and those to be run, as we are asking for them, according to the true bearing. In this last case, we would be missing only about six thousand acres, which could be replaced for us either in the bend of the Black River or by ceding to us the islands in front of the bay. Mr. Constable said that he had not yet received any answer from his brother to whom he had written in September the outcome of our discussions of September last. He assured us that he was going to write again to Mr. William Constable, sending him a copy of our map. Finally, he promised us that this would be decided soon after the return of Mr. Cockburn, their surveyor. And as for the petition for the road to Canada, he promised us to sign it and have it supported in the Assembly.

Tuesday 25 and Wednesday 26 inst Continued the work on the map of the surrounding areas and paid calls on the persons who could second our petition. From our Company, received a letter, undated, with the bill for the lawn.[107]

Thursday, 27 9ber. 1794 Discussions with M. Olive. We have made him a proposal to deposit our funds in his hands, in the event that we should receive them, and to have him give us the interest on them at the rate of six per cent; that he be charged with paying per our mandates and to keep a respective account of the interest. He agreed to our proposals, and by this means, we were at ease about depositing our funds, which would produce for us ½ percent per month, until their complete exhaustion, whereas the deposits in the bank give no interest. Discussed in addition the establishment of the store at Fort Stanwix next year, which would enable him to establish another one in Castorland the following year. As our funds were not sufficient for this purpose, and as these establishments are indispensable, we thought that preferably we should, if the Company not do so, facilitate this being done through one of the stock-holders who had rendered and could render it many services yet.[108]

Friday 28 and Saturday 29 November Continued and finished the maps. Looked for a place to stay for Pharoux.

Sunday, 30 inst Found lodgings in Catherine Street.

Monday, 1st December 1794 Pharoux negotiated for a lodging with Mr. Thom, owner, at the rate of 25 pounds through the first of May. Begins moving at once. Arranged our departure for Philadelphia.

Tuesday 2 December Finished moving and made ready our departure.

Wednesday, 3 inst Left by stage. Dined in Elizabethtown. Spent the night in New Brunswick.

Thursday, 4 inst Breakfasted in Princetown. Dined in Trenton, where we informed ourselves about Eudger and Guibert, two of our passengers from France. At four, we arrived in Philadelphia. We stayed at the home of a Swiss named Keyser, who kept a French boarding house for six dollars per week. The same evening we went to see Mr. Coxe. We showed him our maps. He showed us the one made by Mr. Van Allen. We explained to him our opinions on the manner of obtaining our amount of land. He showed us that per Wolf's title, he needed at least 44,000 acres in Number 4. The bearing of the other line of Wolf's triangle is N54W. It has been run for only a length of 44 miles, from what Mr. Coxe said, and there remained about two miles to be run.

Mr. Coxe then consulted with us on the conduct which he was to adopt with Mr. Van Allen, who had not finished his surveying. We answered him that he would be better able to know what he had to do than ourselves, as he

was from this country. He insisted on knowing if, in our opinion, there was any mistake on Mr. Van Allen's part. We told him that we knew of two: one, in having set out on his campaign three months too late; the second, in using the Oswego route, having been notified in advance that the English would not let his batteaux nor his provisions pass; and in having preferred, against everyone's advice, this route to ours, which was completely secure and even much shorter, and would take him without obstacle to the middle of Wolf's patent. He gave us rendez-vous for the next day and, as for our funds, he told us that he had just received some news from London, that the bills of exchange had been paid and that therefore, he would count out for us when we wished our £ 1500 Sterling.

Friday, 5 December 1794 We went to pay our visits. Saw M. de la Roche, the French consul, and Mr. Cottinger. In the afternoon, we went to the rendez-vous at Mr. Coxe's. He gave us a letter from M. Le Ray, dated from Nyon, August 1794. Mr. Van Allen being present, we discussed our boundaries. Mr. Van Allen's opinion was that the lines must be drawn according to the bearing of the compass and not exactly, and this according to the instructions which have been given him by Mr. Dewitt.

We raised as objection to him the boundary lines between the different states, which are drawn parallel to the degrees of latitude; and finally, the judgement in favor of the commune of Schenectady against the commune of Kayadoressera, a dispute which turned on precisely this problem. Mr. Coxe, as the official representative of Mr. Wolf, claimed that he would remain in possession of the space contained between the lines drawn, even if we did not get our amount, and that he would have a surplus, as his contract was anterior to ours.

Pharoux having showed him his private arrangements with M. Le Ray, and having asked him for the agreed upon funds, necessary for the projected settlement, Mr. Coxe said that he had received no instructions in this matter and that, for the same reason that he would pay him the £ 1500 Sterling, although we did not have the statement, he would not pay him the sum that his brother-in-law had designated, as he had not yet received the order to do so, although he did see in fact that it was payable. He assured us that he had sent on to the port of Albany or to that of New York the letters which he had received from Europe. We told him that we had not received them. However, M. Le Ray informs us that he had written in March. Mr. Coxe promised to pay us the following Monday, the eve of our departure, which we told him had been set for Tuesday.

Saturday, 6 December 1794 We went to see M. Le Rebours, one of our fellow passengers. He had retired to the home of Mr. Bartram, the botanist, the son of the one whom M. de Crèvecoeur made the subject of one of his chapters in the *American Farmer*.[109] The farm is about five miles from Philadelphia, on the Schuylkill. We crossed over the bridges made of logs

which he described and which are very dangerous, there not being a year in which several accidents do not occur. The countryside on the other shore is uneven. The land, as it is all along the North River, is also very uneven and composed of rock, sand and clay, which proximity to manures, the products of a large city, can alone fertilize. We could see some houses rather attractively located, the view of the Schuykill offering some charming views. We found, not without difficulty, the house of Mr. Bartram, and our friend Le Rebours in a dressing gown, a pair of large spectacles on his nose, his entire appearance that of the true scientist. We complimented him on this, as well as on his very attractively located retreat. The garden and the greenhouse have nothing that is not very ordinary and would not be talked of in Europe; but it is a lot for this country. Judging from M. de Crèvecoeur's narrative, it appears that the son has not augmented greatly his father's acquisitions. We walked about, visited the botanical garden, the farm, the dyke for drying the marsh and protecting the meadow at the shore of the river from the tide. We dined without being treated to the sounds of the Aeolian harp: it no longer existed and there was no recollection of it even. We also had some very good pork, with cabbage and some excellent apples, which they call Newton pippin, and the seeds of which we kept.[110] Le Rebours escorted us by another path along the river, and we arrived in Philadelphia only at night.

Sunday, 7 Xber We went to see the consul général M. de la Forest. From there, we used our time to examine the canal, undertaken to join the Delaware to the Schuylkill above the falls. The area of the ditch is well made and leveled: but in all the sections where architectural work is required the canal has been interrupted, so that it is impossible to judge of the individual talent of the engineer, except by a single existing bridge which crosses the canal. This bridge, consisting of a brick arch in the middle of its span, has been raised to a height too low to allow barques to pass through with their masts, and due to its height only serves to require that on each side an earthen batter be raised so that one can reach it.[111] We were unable to divine the reason for such a singular construction, one which moreover looked unsound to us. A draw-bridge or swing-bridge in wood would have cost 10 times less and served the purpose just as well. In the evening, we sought but in vain to unearth M. Eudger who, we had been told in Trenton, was in Philadelphia.

Monday, 8 Xber. 1794 We went to see M. Moreau de St. Méry, who keeps a fine bookstore.[112] From there we attended a session of Congress. In the evening, we went to the rendez-vous at Mr. Coxe's, to receive our funds. In spite of his promises, he told us that he could not pay us at the present moment; that he was counting on receiving a payment Wednesday; and that he would send the money to M. Olive in New York and the rest two or three days later, or in January at the latest. He said that he could not remember just when he had sent us our letters from Europe. He explained to us what the

draft of M. Otto on M. Kane was: although we had not cashed it nor even received it, he claimed to be able to deduct it from the £ 1500 Sterling. He refused to take into account for us the 10% profit that the drafts on England had given him, or to take into our account the interest on the funds that he had kept in his hands for such a long time. We withdrew indignant.

Tuesday, 9 December Left Philadelphia by stage. Dined in Trenton where, having finally found M. Eudger, we resolved to stay and not to leave until the stage tomorrow. We went together to visit Madame Guibert in Lamberton, a village one mile below Trenton. Her husband had made us some proposals for some clearings. She informed us that he had gone to St. Domingue to try and save something from the fury of the blacks, the mulattoes and the whites; and that if he were fortunate enough to succeed in this, they would get back together with us with great pleasure. Finding at her home several French people gathered together, we took advantage of this opportunity to spread the knowledge of our settlement.

Wednesday, 10 December In the morning, several French people came to see and discuss our means of settlement. Several of them had bought land from Penet.[113] This scheming man, after having failed here, had gone on to St. Domingue and had sold to several settlers some lands on Oneida Lake which he was claiming to have acquired from the Indians. The island troubles had engaged the inhabitants to make these acquisitions as a last resource in case of need. One of these unfortunate people, disembarking in New York, after having saved himself from the Cape fire, had nothing more pressing than to find out the road to his settlement, where he was counting on taking refuge and through his labor assure his existence. He was informed that he had been deceived; but he did not have the strength to withstand this last blow and killed himself upon going back into his room. Penet, the better to fool people, would show the credulous settlers a map of his so-called properties on Oneida Lake. On this map had been traced out, with all its fortifications, the city of Heurville,[114] in which he would give a housing lot *gratis* to those who bought land from him. We were shown this map. We told these settlers that we had traveled in the region and seen it for ourselves; that this land belonged to Mr. Scriba, a rich merchant of New York who had acquired it from the State, to which the Oneida Indians had sold the land; and that Mr. Scriba was beginning to establish a city on the very spot where Penet's map designated the city of Heurville. We spent the rest of the morning with M. Euger de Valsois, who showed us the pleasant surroundings of Trenton. He told us of the infinite difficulties he had had in withdrawing his funds from the hands of Robert Morris, and had as many reasons as we did to be pleased with American honesty. He gave us some details on the French settlement Azilum that were less than complimentary.[115] He had spent his summer in traveling on the two branches of the Susquehannah and provided us with very useful

information. Finally, he promised us that he would come to the Black River next year and settle near us. We dined at his home and, at three, took the stage again. We spent the night in New Brunswick.

Thursday, 11 December We arrived in New York around two. Saw M. Olive, to whom we reported on our trip's lack of success.

Friday 12 and Saturday 13 Pharoux was busy finishing moving into his new lodgings. Purchase of various pieces of furniture. Saturday evening, he was settled. Paid in the meantime several calls.

Sunday 14 inst We were busy with writing up our mutual accounts and the Company's, as well as M. Olive's. We rectified an error of five hundred dollars on the account of M. Olive, resulting from the funds which he had sent for surveying the Penet square, which funds we had not used. This work-project not having taken place, we had left the funds in the hands of his associate in Albany.

Monday, 15 Xber 1794 Saw several persons to have them sign the petition to the Legislature for opening a large road from German Flats to King'stown in Canada, under the name of Canada Road. We learned of the death of the Baron de Steuben. This loss afflicted us deeply. He was the only person in this selfish country from whom we could expect real help, and his kindness matched his courtesy.

Tuesday, 16 inst Wrote our letters to Messrs. Constable and Le Ray de Chaumont in London, relative to the circumstances of our boundaries. Receiving neither news nor money from Mr. Tench Coxe, we wrote him a letter on this matter.

Wednesday, 17 Xber Received three thousand piastres, with a letter from Mr. Tench Coxe. As we had not sent our letter, we limited ourselves then to answering him that we were waiting for the rest of our money, according to his promises. We deposited these three thousand dollars with M. Olive, who made out a note for us bearing interest at 6 %.

The son of Mr. Caldwell of Albany was leaving for London, and we took advantage of this opportunity to ensure that our letters reached Messrs. Constable and Le Ray.

Thursday, 18 Xber. 1794 Departure of Desjardins for Albany on a sloop going to Hudson.

Friday 19 to Sunday 28 Xber Pharoux was largely busy with a project for a plan for the city of Speranza, located across from Hudson, a plan that Messrs. Livingston had asked him to do.[116]

Monday, 29 Xber. 1794 Received 1900 dollars from Mr. Tench Coxe, with a letter dated 24 December.

Tuesday, 30 inst Deposited the 1900 dollars in the hands of M. Olive on the same terms as the previous 3000.

Wednesday, 31 Xber Met M. Cockbarn, surveyor for Mr. Constable. He had arrived in New York three days ago. I had been informed indirectly of the general meeting, which was being held at Mr. Constable's. I showed up: they hid the maps, and they asked me for several days time before discussing this matter with me. I believe I have reason to state that Colonel Ward is only a front man acting for Mr. Macomb.[117] I went accordingly to see the latter, in order to try to discover the committee's dispositions. He assured me that we would have no difficulty.[118]

Castorland Journal 1795

BOUNDARIES

Thursday, 1st of January 1795 Saw Mr. Cockran: he informed me that Baron de Steuben had chosen as heirs Colonel Walker and Major North, two of his aides-de-camp in the Revolution. I accordingly went to Colonel Walker's to recover the 22 pounds which the Baron owed us: I was told that he had not yet returned from Steuben.

Friday, 2 January 1795 Saw Mr. Cockburn about our boundaries and discussed his map and ours.

Saturday, 3 inst Went to rendez-vous at Mr. Constable's. Lengthy and extensive discussion. I do not expect much from them.

Sunday, 4 inst Received from M. Chassanis a letter, a duplicate of the one received in December.

Monday, 5 and Tuesday 6 inst Worked on the plan for Mr. Livingston.

Wednesday, 7 January 1795 Saw Mr. Mullighan, secretary for Baron de Steuben. He assured me that our belongings were secure in our store, and that the guardian had been asked to look after them. He told me that Colonel Walker was charged with paying us the 22 pounds, and delivered a letter from Desjardins. Received via Boston the triplicate of the letter from M. Chassanis.

Thursday 8 January to Sunday of the s Worked on the plan for Messrs. Livingston, who engaged me to make the trip to Hudson in order to plot the map on location. I took advantage of this opportunity to meet for a few days with Desjardins and discuss our campaign plans.[1]

Monday 12 and Tuesday 13 January 1795 With Messrs. Livingston, discussed and agreed on the different bases for the operation.

Wednesday, 14 January 1795 Left New York. Spent the night in Tarrytown, 30 miles away.

Thursday, 15 January 1795 Breakfasted at Fishkill, dined in Peaskill. Spent the night at Poughkeepsie, 83 miles from New York.

Friday, 16 inst Breakfasted at Rhinebeck. Dined in Hudson, 124 miles from New York and 32 miles from Albany.

Saturday, 17 inst Took a sledge to go to Mr. Hodgeboom's, one of the interested parties in the Speranza matter, to get information.[2]

Sunday, 18 inst Examined the locale as seen from Hudson. I obtained a plan for another planned city, next to the site of Messrs. Livingston: I made a copy of it. It was impossible for me to cross the river, due to a false thaw which had covered the ice with more than a foot of water.

Monday 19 inst Took a sledge and crossed the river. From the visual reconnaissance of all the sites and of the natural inequalities in the terrain, the result of my observations is that the terrain is infinitely well suited for building a city; that it will be very easy to land at the quays; and that the ice will not be able to damage the buildings, which will be protected by a point extending northward. Mr. William, surveyor, and Mr. Hodgeboom, having joined me, we together inspected the location and made some observations.

Tuesday, 20 inst With Messrs. William, Hodgeboom and three men, took the levels in the bearing N36W, and took levels transversally at the different stations. In the afternoon, drew a line in the direction S23W, with square angles to the different houses now existing. Due to the extreme cold, took down the levelings and other bearings on my agenda.

Wednesday, 21 January 1795 I charged Mr. William with surveying the terrain behind, recently acquired; with drawing its slopes; with taking the measurements for the plan for the church; with plotting it, in large scale, with the houses and lots, onto the large-scale map of the terrain of the Livingston company. I proposed to this surveyor that he work on laying out the streets and lots, once the map was finished. Took a sledge to go to Coxsackie to see Messrs. de Haussy, Chaurand and other French people settled on farms which they have purchased in this neighborhood. Left Hudson at 2:30. Arrived at 4:30 at M. Chaurand's, 12 miles away. This area is called Flatbush; from here, we went two miles further to have supper and spend the night at M. de Haussy's. Terrain somewhat mountainous; lands average.

Thursday, 22 inst I visited the land of M. de Haussy. Saw the site for his house, from which one enjoys the view of the Coxsackie plain, of the North River and of the city of Hudson. Took a sledge to get to Albany and confer

with Desjardins while waiting for Mr. William to finish his operation. Left at 9. Arrived in Albany at noon. Delivered the letters with which I was charged and paid our visits.

Friday, 23 inst We went to see Mr. DeWitt and asked him for the extract of the boundaries of the deed of sale by the State to Mr. Macomb, in order to know whether the islands are dependent or not on our purchase, and in which section is located the six hundred acre reserve designated under the name *Portuguese Neck*, and which, according to this expression, ought to be, we believe, in the neck of the peninsula and not, as Mr. Cockburn is claiming, at the other end.[3] Saw Mr. Graham, commissioner of the State, on the subject of the funds to be granted for the opening of roads to the West of the State. We showed him the map of our road, which he approved, and promised us his support. But he led us to fear that the formation of a separate state in the Western part might prevent the Legislature from granting our request.[4]

Saturday, 24 January 1795 Conferred on our plan for the campaign. Saw Mr. DeWitt, who gave us the extract of the boundaries of the Macomb concession, which extract clearly proves that the reserve of 600 acres is in Number 4 of the concession; and consequently, our tract being in Number 5, the reserve ought not be located on our terrain but ought to be located in the neck of the peninsula, just as the word *neck*[5] implies. Mr. DeWitt was of our opinion and promised us to give his instructions to the surveyors accordingly. We again saw Mr. Graham, who, with the aim of supporting our position, gave me two letters for two of his friends, members of the Legislature in New York. The islands have been sold by the State to Mr. Macomb: but as this matter was undecided (the boundary line with Canada not being run), he will not get possession of them until after the surveying.

Sunday, 25 inst Made for M. de Haussy a draft for a plan, and another for enlarging Desjardins' house.

Monday 26 January 1795 Left Albany in the sledge of Mr. Tenbrook, surveyor.[6] Dined at Mr. Rensselaer's on the other side of the river. Arrived in Claverac, at Mr. Hodgeboom's, at 9 in the evening.

Tuesday, 27 inst I went to Hudson and from there to Lunenbourg with Messrs. Hodgeboom and William, whom we had gone to pick up at his home and who had accomplished nothing during my absence. The minister did not want to provide the plan of his church, so that I had to take these measurements, as well as those of the houses.

Wednesday, 28 inst Spent the day in plotting the course of the river in the vicinity and other necessary details. Left in the evening to return to Claverack by means of a sledge. Had supper and spent the night at Mr. Hodgeboom's.

Thursday, 29 January Mr. Hodgeboom brought me in a sledge back to Hudson, where I caught the stage, which brought me to Poughkeepsie to spend the night.

Friday, 30 inst Left Poughkeepsie by stage; spent the night in Tarrytown.

Saturday, 31 January The stage brought us to King'sbridge for breakfast, 15 miles from New York. It is on the furthest end of the island of New York, which island is joined to the continent by a small wooden bridge. Tide-mills have been constructed here, the mechanism of which is very good but of little effect given the small volume of water. The tavern is attractively located and very fine. People come here from New York on pleasure outings. Upon arriving in the city, I made my visits and delivered the letters I was charged with, for Messrs. Seton, Olive and Thurman. In the evening, I saw Messrs. Livingston, to whom I reported on my operations, on the lands which one could buy, on the difficulties, etc.

From 1st February to 5 inst Made a fair copy in ink of my observations and plans for Speranza. Worked on the details.

Friday, 6 February 1795 Bought a map of Mr. Dewitt's for the Company. Received a letter from Mr. Brodhead, to whom I had written about our surveying. Saw Colonel Walker and Major North, speaker of the Legislature, on the subject of our road. They will sign and support a petition for it. Received by Mr. Constable four letters from Mr. Le Ray, 2 for me and 2 for M. Desjardins.

Saturday, 7 February to 10 March Busy on the plans for Speranza and the different public buildings to be constructed there. On the 10th of March, wrote to Desjardins that I was not counting on finishing and being able to join him until ten days from now; that I have received from Mr. Cockburn the map of the boundaries as it had been decided upon by Mr. Constable, according to which they are making up our deficit for us out of Watson's portion, and against all reason are burdening us with the reserve of 600 acres.[7] I have given to M. Mouchet the map of the boundaries to be copied, and to M. Dubuisson the copy of the plan for the map for the road.[8]

11 March 1795 Made visits for obtaining the road to Canada.

12 March to 20 inst., 1795 Busy on the plans and report on Speranza.

21 March Took back the petition from the hands of Mr. Harrison. I had it signed by Messrs. Walker, Linch,[9] Olive, Chériot, Constable, etc. Major North charged himself with presenting it.

22 March Delivered the map of the road to Major North, with the petition. Made a plan for M. de la Bigarre.

23 March to 14 April Busy with looking for a place to stay. Finished the map of Speranza, and delivered the said plan to M. de St. Mesmin who will make an engraving of it.[10]

15 April Left on a sloop for Hudson, Speranza and Albany with a view to directing the lay-out of streets and lots according to the plan for Speranza. I had given rendez-vous there with Mr. Brodhead.

22 April 1795 We were so impeded by wind that we were still 20 miles from Albany. I decided to go the rest of the way on foot. Arrived in the evening at Desjardins'. There I found M. Tassart, whom M. Olive had sent to make a settlement on his lands.[11] As he was continuing on to Lansingbourg, we gave him the errand of hiring workers.

23 to 26 April Stay in Albany. Concerted operations for the campaign with Desjardins. Made a trip to Schenectady to ready the batteaux and hire workers. I succeeded no better than did Desjardins. They were asking for considerable wages. Saw the terrain acquired by M. Olive for building a store. Concerted with M. Quesnel the plan for the house. Some Canadians offered to engage themselves, and they then failed to keep their promise to us. Finding myself behind schedule and my moving yet to be done, I engaged Desjardins to go down to New York for the purchases and preparations for the departure, the season being already well advanced.

27, 28 and 29 April 1795 Left for Hudson; from there, crossed the river. I went to Lunenbourg with Mr. Goodrich.[12] I again saw the terrain and took notes for making a plan. Arrival of Mr. Brodhead, and upon Mr. William's refusal, I charged him with surveying Speranza. He promised me to finish it in 15 days and to be ready as soon as we were to go to Fort Schuyler. I gave him a plan for the new city, with the bearings.

First of May, 1795 I gave to Mr. Brodhead all the necessary instructions and began to take the alignments with him. In the evening, I embarked on a sloop which was going down from Albany, to return to New York.

2, 3, 4, and 5 May On the sloop. Arrived in the evening in New York.

6, 7, 8 and 9 inst Busy with my moving. Mr. Linch made some proposals to me regarding the city which he wanted to have built at Fort Stanwix.

10 May Arrival of Desjardins. Busy with my moving and purchases for the Company. Made a directive for M. Olive to defend our interests vis-à-vis Mr. Constable, at the time of his return from England in the near future. Left a copy of the explanatory maps.

11, 12, 13, 14, and 15 May, 1795 Busy with making purchases. Paid our visits. Made a plan for M. Olive's store, who gave us a goat from France with its kid, which we decided to take along with us to Castorland.

16 May Finally left for Albany on the sloop *The Commerce*.

17 & 18 May On the 18th, in the evening, I had myself let off at Speranza to verify Mr. Brodhead's construction and operations, Desjardins charging himself with bringing our belongings up to Albany and with continuing preparations for the journey, during my stay here.

19 & 20 inst Used this time to verify Mr. Brodhead's operations and to change the direction of the principal street. On the 20th in the evening, I went to Claverack to confer with Mr. Hodgeboom.

21 May 1795 Returned to Lunenbourg. Contracted with Mr. Brodhead for the surveying of Castorland and of Penet's Square, at the rate of three dollars per mile of line that he traces. Wrote to Mr. Livingston about his operation. Charged Mr. Brodhead with making a sketch of two copies of his plan of Speranza. Returned in the evening to Claverack.

22 inst From Claverack, I went to Flatbush to M. Chaurand's. Made a plan for his farm and buildings. Dined at M. de Jarossay's at Coymans. Stayed with him the 23rd.

24 May 1795 Left for Albany with Messrs. Bonamy and Chaurand the younger. Made my visits with Desjardins.

from 25 May to 1st of June Busy with purchasing mill irons, which we had not been able to complete in N.Y. Hired Louis Ferlent and his family for Castorland at the rate of 80 dollars per year. Had our various belongings sent to Schenectady, which were addressed to Mr. Miller. Sent M. Tassart on ahead to watch over the delivery of the two batteaux which we had ordered, our old one being out of service and the new one not having been sent back to us by Mr. Post. Made our preparations for departure.

Monday, 1st June 1795 Left Albany with the two Desjardins on waggons loaded with our belongings. Arrived in Schenectady in the evening. Paid Mr. Miller. Joined up with M. Tassart, Baptiste and the Canadian family, who had been sent on ahead. We saw a mill carpenter whom Mr. Miller recommended to us.

Tuesday, 2 June We hired the carpenter at the rate of one dollar per day and, having had all of our belongings loaded into the two batteaux, we had to leave about as much at Mr. Miller's, who charged himself with having them sent on to us by the scowboats to Mr. Post's address. We therefore left the mill irons, saws and other large objects the least liable to risk. We had many difficulties with our boatmen who were claiming to be always overloaded. Finally we left Schenectady around half past noon.

3, 4, and 5 inst Continued along the route. Arrived on the 5th in the evening, in Little Falls. While the portage was being made, we went to see

Mr. Porteous, who informed us that Mr. de Zeng had lost his position of canal inspector and that M. Huerne, who negotiated with us to come settle in Castorland, had preferred to buy a farm 2 miles away. Mr. Weston, the canal engineer, promised Pharoux to be at Fort Stanwix along with Mr. Linch, from 8 to 10 July. Saw Mr. Noble, who was returning to Europe without having been able to sell his patent at Nobleborough. He showed us the map of his land, where one of the sources of the Black River is located. Pharoux took advantage of this opportunity to write to Mr. Linch in New York.

Saturday, 6 June 1795 Left Little Falls in the morning. Spent the night at the last rapid of German Flats. Asked for information about the man named Angot, settled in this area. This Frenchman had promised to make the campaign with us, but we could not find him.

Sunday, 7 inst Arrived around two at Old Fort Schuyler: its bridge, we found, had been destroyed by the high waters. We had our belongings locked in Mr. Post's store, and we had the tent pitched on the bank, where we settled the Canadian family to watch our other belongings. Finally, we went to stay at Mr. Bagg's, as Mr. Post no longer kept a tavern.[13] We found that the new batteau that we had left last year was in very bad shape. Since the collapse of the bridge, everyone was using it to cross. Mr. Post told us that he had not been able to prevent that. We gave this batteau to our boatmen to go back down to Schenectady, with a letter to Mr. Miller, to ask him to have it repaired. We took advantage of this opportunity to write to Albany and to New York, to Mr. William Constable, whose arrival we learned of, and to M. Olive, about our boundaries. We made our visits, and Pharoux drew up the plan for Mr. Kip's potashery.

Monday, 8 June 1795 Sent Ferlent to Mr. Boon's to bring back the oxen and the waggon which we left there last year. Busy in hiring men and buying livestock. Hired Charles Lockwood at the rate of eleven dollars per month. Bought 7 sheep, a cow and its calf for thirty-four dollars. Tried to buy flour.

Tuesday, 9 inst Saw and bargained for several horses. Spoke to several men about hiring them. Visited two mills, where we could not get any flour.

Wednesday, 10 inst Not finding any flour in the area, we sent M. Tassart, who also needed some for himself, to Mr. Porteous' mills in Little Falls, where we were sure to find some. We gave him one of our batteaux to bring the flour back. Ferlent, unable to find any waggoner, came back without our waggon and our oxen. These latter are a bit lean but healthy.

Thursday, 11 inst Bought from Mr. Sheeffer a pair of black horses with saddles and bridles, a waggon with its harness, for two hundred three piastres. Wrote to Messrs. Olive and Brodhead. Settled and paid Mr. Kip, merchant. Sent Baptiste into the surrounding area to try to hire some men.

Friday, 12 inst Pharoux left on horseback to go see Mr. Boon. Desjardins went into the surrounding areas on the other side of the river, where he had been told that there were oxen for sale. He found two suitable pair, for which he set the price. M. Tassart came back with the boat loaded with ten barrels of flour. He had gone to see M. Huerne, settled three miles from Little Falls, and M. Huerne stated to him that he would not go to the Black River. The inconveniences which we had experienced last year, the difficulty and high cost of waggons, made us decide to have two teams. By this means, the two drivers can help each other in tight spots, and it is even imprudent to send a waggon out alone. The waggons can be loaded more, as in muddy stretches and on mountains, all the oxen are harnessed one after the other in order to draw the waggons one after the other. On a good road, only two men are needed for two waggons, while two are always needed for a single cart, because one cannot send a man out by himself into the woods without exposing him to the risk of serious accident.

The stones of Fort Schuyler contain petrified shells, similar to those on the mountain in Steuben.

Thursday [*sic*], 13 June 1795 In the morning, we sent M. Tassart on horseback to Oneida to try to hire several Indians. We gave him a letter for Perrot the Canadian, who had worked for us last year and with whom we had been satisfied. We put our barrels under shelter, under the abutment of the bridge, next to the tent of our Canadians. Baptiste came back in the afternoon from Steuben and the surrounding areas, which he had covered. He hired three waggons, which are supposed to arrive here Monday evening, to assist in the transporting of our belongings to Castorland, at the rate of 13 dollars per trip. It is impossible to obtain any here. A moment later, Pharoux came back from Mr. Boon's: he had not been able to obtain either men or waggons. The two pair of oxen that Desjardins had gone to see were brought, and we paid 135 piastres for them.

Sunday, 14 June 1795 We saw several men, but the construction of the canal makes them extremely scarce, and they ask for excessive wages. M. Tassart came back in the morning from Oneida. He saw father Perrot at Schenando's the Indian chief, our old acquaintance. He promised him to get two Indian carpenters for us, and two other workers. François Sabourin who, last year, had also promised to work for us, is in New Rotterdam, where Mr. Scriba is offering 15 piastres per month. The carpenters here earn twelve shillings per day. Delivered to Mr. Mullighan, who is going down to N.Y., our letters for this city and for Albany. Met M. de Bonnechose, a Frenchman, who is going to look at Mr. Lincleen's settlement. We spoke to him about Castorland. On his return, he has to go to Steuben, and from there, he is supposed to come to see us as he has promised.

Obtained some information on Penet's square in the Vth[14] from John Dais, who has surveyed it.

Monday, 15 June, 1795 Hired Henry Robinson, waggoner, to drive our oxen, at the rate of 55 dollars per month, for five months. Received the two iron chains which we had ordered for our waggons. Sent Ferlent back with Robinson to bring our waggon and oxen from Mr. Boon's. Charles Lookwood, our first man hired, left without telling us. Fortunately, we had not made any advances to him. Hired in his stead Roffer Harris to be second waggoner, for the same price as Robinson. As M. Tassart was willing to go to White'stown to buy for us some planks, we sent Baptiste to New Harford to buy some maize. Two waggons from Steuben arrived in the evening, the third failed to keep his word.

Tuesday, 16 June 1795 In order to make as much progress as possible, we decided to send on ahead Messrs. G. Desjardins and Tassart, with the carpenter and the two waggons from Steuben. We loaded them with those items which were of prime necessity: they left at five in the morning. We bought another cow from Mr. Kip. In the evening our waggon arrived from Mr. Boon's, with Ferlent and Robinson. Hired Cross, a workman who was working on the bridge. Sent the waggon and Baptiste to White'stown to look for planks, which we stored at Mr. Bagg's.

Wednesday, 17 June 1795 Bought a pregnant sow. Harris, our second waggoner, refuses to leave. We hired the man named Hobby to do only the trip out and back, hoping to find meanwhile another driver.[15] Hired Linus Peck, carpenter. Loaded our two waggons.

Thursday, 18 inst Pharoux left in the morning with our 2 waggons loaded and conducted by Robinson and Hobby. The Canadian family, Cross, Peck & Baptiste conducted the sow, goats, sheep and cows. They all had a great deal of trouble in getting into a well-ordered march. I remained in Fort Schuyler, alone, to hire if possible more men to load the waggons that would be sent down to me, and to accompany those which would bring the rum. Baptiste was supposed to bring me back one of the horses.

Friday, 19 June 1795 Tried to hire men but to no avail. Father Perrot arrived without bringing any Indians with him. I sent him to Fort Stanwix to see if he might hire there some persons of his acquaintance.

Saturday, 20 June inst G. Desjardins and his little band arrived in Castorland without accident and with no other cause of delay, other than that the roads were still muddy. They found our two canoes in very bad condition. They had been used. The large one was stuck on a rock and split in the front. The small one was also out of the water, twenty paces from the shore, with a large split stuffed with a piece of old cloth. A bark hut next to the vessel proved to us that the Indians had spent the winter here. By himself, Desjardins crossed to the opposite shore on a small raft which had been abandoned next to the large canoe. The house was in good shape. Someone had only

shifted all the barrels, and taken away a table, as well as a ladder, which most likely suited one of our neighbors. Having crossed back over the river, Desjardins had the waggons unloaded, the belongings stored under the Indian hut, and gave a promissory note to the drivers to be paid at Fort Schuyler and by this means engage them to make a second trip. When the drivers left, we repaired the large canoe as best we could. Everything was brought across in the evening to Castorland, and we settled into the loghouse.

Sunday, 21 June 1795 Desjardins engaged two men at Fort Schuyler, but they did not keep their word. Saw M. de Bonnechose on his way back from Mr. Linclaen's. He engaged him to go to Steuben and to see Castorland.

Monday, 22 June The two drivers who had been with my brother in Castorland returned and brought me a letter from Pharoux, who informed me that his group had taken four days to get to Steuben; that the waggons had broken down nearly every mile; the people and the livestock had got lost; finally, he considered himself lucky to have re-engaged the drivers to make a second trip for 16 piastres. He informed me too that the English in Oswego had stopped the provisions and surveyors who had wanted to get through to survey Wolf's number 4, which would force us to bring all of our belongings by way of land. I had the two drivers loaded with barrels of pork and flour, having no one to accompany them. They promised to drop them off at the store in Steuben and to come back to take another load for Castorland.

Tuesday, 23 June 1795 Our mill irons and other items left behind in Schenectady arrived. I had them secured in Mr. Post's store. While I was busy at the edge of the water, I caught sight of François Sabourin in a batteau for Schenectady. I called out to him. He recognized me; and leaving his troop, he told me that he would make the campaign with us. I was very glad to have found this man who was one of our best workers last year. Sick from the fevers, he was going to one of his friend's, 3 miles from Fort Schuyler. I gave him some hypecacuanha, promising him that if he were willing to make use of it, he would be cured. He promised me he would, and I gave him rendez-vous for Friday, the day on which I was expecting father Perrot, and hoping that our waggons, being back, would allow me to depart.

Settlement. Sunday, the carpenter Dixon refused to work for religious reasons. Although it was not the custom in the woods, and he was offered to be paid for his days, that led the others to imitate him. Monday and Tuesday, we were busy cutting brush and making fires to keep away the legions of mosquitoes and flies which seemed to fill the air, and the carpenter was busy making a table.

Wednesday, 24 June 1795 A driver brought me a second letter from Pharoux dated from Platt's, the 22nd. He had made a business agreement with him for 7 dollars to conduct a load to our Steuben store. The irons of our broken waggons were not yet repaired. Our goats were at Morris's,

a farmer at Steuben. They had still not heard anything about the sow. Pharoux, needing men at Castorland, alerted me that he did not foresee being able to send the two waggons back to me; in consequence, he engaged me to look for some drivers at whatever the cost might be. I loaded this driver with flour. Pharoux bought another cow in Steuben.

Settlement. The carpenter finished his table, and I at once had him make a door, not yet having any for our loghouse. Finding ourselves without bread, I sent M. Tassart to meet Pharoux, whom we were worried not to see arrive. If he did not meet him, he was to bring us back some maize bread from Topping's. Pharoux arrived at 10 with Marguerite Ferlent and the 2 horses. We went to bring them across. An hour later, Baptiste arrived with Ferlent, the workmen, the waggons and the livestock: a sheep was missing, dead en route from fatigue. The two goats and the sow strayed on the way. We had much difficulty in getting the oxen to cross the river. In order to avoid these obstacles, Pharoux decided to have a ferry built by our workmen. Baptiste and Ferlent dug up the barrel of axes and iron tools, which he had buried last year.

Thursday, 25 June 1795 Hired a carpenter who, like the others, failed to keep his word when he saw that he could not have any money in advance. Arrival of one of Mr. Brodhead's surveyors: he informs me that this latter would arrive only around 5 or 6 July. I gave him the information necessary to obtain the barrels of pork and flour that he had charged himself with buying. Wrote to Pharoux.

Settlement. Had a large tree cut down for a canoe. Continued the fires. Drew the plan for a ferry. Finalized the inventory of what Desjardins will buy for us at Fort Schuyler.

Friday, 26 inst As father Perrot and Sabourin have returned, I sent them with my letter to Castorland, knowing how much workers were needed there. I went with Mr. Brodhead's surveyor to help him make his purchases.

Settlement. M. Tassart left in the morning on horseback, charged with errands and accompanying one of our waggons, which we sent to Steuben to get a load of flour at our store. Planks were squared for the ferry. We went to examine the falls at Moose River on Inman's land. The furthest one we saw is 2½ miles from the loghouse. The first is a torrent resembling the one at Little Falls. The second is a succession of cascades. The 3rd falls as a sheet and forms three distinct falls, separated by an island on one side and on the other by rocks. One of them serves as a discharge during the high waters. This triple fall is very attractive not only from its expanse, its height, and the different views which it offers, but also from its location in the wild and the rocks which adjoin it. But the countryside, divided by small sandy mountains on which a few meager fir trees grow and many bramble bushes, is dismal. The current, rapid above the triple fall, was to us an indication of a cascade further up. But the fear of causing our men worry made us come back at the dinner hour.

Saturday, 27 June 1795 M. Tassart arrived and gave me the inventory of purchases to make. I got busy on these, and M. Tassart with engaging men on his behalf. The 2 waggoners from Steuben were back. I charged them with taking 2 waggons to Castorland.

Settlement. We had the axes and other tools fitted with handles, the planks hauled by the oxen to the work area at the edge of the basin of the fall. Made a hut to enclose and keep our calf. Ferns were used to close up the spaces between the logs of our house.

Sunday, 28 inst M. Tassart left on foot for Castorland, not having been able to find any men. I gave him some funds for Pharoux. He left the horse with me, so that I might accompany the waggons which I was waiting for, should Mr. Brodhead and the surveyors arrive.

Settlement. Rest for our workers. We gave them some lines and hooks, with which they caught a lot of fish. We have decided, in order to avoid murmurs of discontent, to make a common table, so that, living as we live, they would have no reason to complain of the rations. After dinner, François Sabourin arrived and gave us our letters.

Monday, 29 June 1795 Busy but to no avail hiring men, waiting for the waggons and the surveyors.

Settlement. Another of our sheep was found dead. Had woods thinned in front of the house to expose the fall and keep the mosquitoes away. Felled a very large tree. As this tree turned out to be unsound, Dixon proposed that we make a canoe from two pieces, which will be 5 feet wide by 27 feet long. We immediately set to work on it. Father Perrot arrived at noon, and announced to us that the waggon which we had sent to Steuben had broken down en route; but that it would get here soon, the carpenters from Edmond's having repaired it at Mr. Boon's mill. It was time, as we had no more biscuit. After dinner, the load was brought across, and after inspecting the chests, the tools were placed in order. A barrel of flour having been staved in, Marguerite made the bread. The large saw was set up. Baptiste, with François, tightened up and restored the floor. They finished bringing to the work area the squared beams for the ferry. In the evening, M. Tassart came back bringing us a setter which my brother had given him for us; he gave us our letters.

Tuesday, 30 June *Settlement*. We sent one of our waggons to Fort Schuyler under Hobby's guidance, who absolutely wanted to leave; father Perrot is going with him and is the bearer of a letter for Desjardins, and of another one, requesting our goats. We do not yet have any news about the sow. Our carpenters busy on the ferry, the others in picking up and bringing stones to construct an oven. Baptiste, François and Ferlent cut and brought some small poles to make a dividing wall in our loghouse, and make there a recess both for us and for the items which need to be locked up. A manger was begun for the livestock, and the logs for the foundation of the oven were set in place.

Wednesday, First of July, 1795 *Settlement*. In the morning, the carpenters worked on the ferry, but rain beginning to fall, we put them to work sawing the logs of the house to make a window for the study. Two workers carried to the river some stones for the oven and went in the canoe to look for clay. Ferlent and François Sabourin made some scythe handles. Baptiste finished the partition for the study which we have furnished, and where we are settled. M. Tassart has become our baker and pastry-maker. Marguerite made a large mattress which was filled with hay, for the men to sleep on. The 2 waggoners whom my brother sent us arrived in the night, having left a portion of their load at our store in Steuben, given the bad roads.

Thursday, 2 July 1795 *Settlement*. Pharoux gave the waggoners his receipt; but as they had not brought their shipping statements, he did not pay them, and gave an order drawn on my brother, which will make at least one of them return to Fort Schuyler and bring back another load for us. Heavy rainstorm yesterday evening and throughout the night. We had the belongings transported and stored away. The drivers left with a letter for my brother informing him of what they had delivered. This morning, the oven was finished. After dinner, as the ferry was ready to be turned over, we all pitched in, but in spite of our efforts, the ferry, falling somewhat unevenly, several pegs were broken, and it separated a bit.

Friday, 3 July 1795 The carpenters worked in the morning on the ferry and in the evening, they felled another large tree for the large canoe. The other workers were busy felling trees around the house in order to make an enclosure for our livestock.

Saturday, 4 July In the morning, the carpenter and his assistant refused to work unless they were given rum as a ration instead of the grog that was provided with their meals. Pharoux consented to their request, and they got back to work after breakfast. As we were giving them as much drink as they wanted, they had more rum than if it had been rationed; but they did not have the satisfaction of drinking it pure. We sent M. Tassart on horseback to Mr. Boon's store to bring some black tea back for us; to see whether we could get some tar; and if our barrels of flour were in good condition and covered in our poor store in Steuben. Four men were used in building the large canoe, François and Ferlent in felling trees. Shot a very large turtle; it fell and slipped under a rock, from where we could not pull it out. Made our first baking in the new oven. The oxen hauled the two large trimmed pieces of wood for the canoe. The ferry is finished: we only need some tar and tow to complete it.

Sunday, 5 July 1795 In the evening, the waggon arrived at Fort Schuyler with father Perrot. Hobby, who had brought it down and not wishing to return at less than a dollar a day, I paid him and found another man who promised me to go at the rate of 4 shillings per day. Perrot informed me that the waggon from Steuben would arrive the next day, and I decided to take

advantage of the 2 waggons to transport the rest of our rum and liquors, in order to accompany them myself, as the other objects which would be left in the store could be brought up without needing the same surveillance.

Settlement. Rest for the workers. They had asked to have their meals given in rations; but finding that they did not have enough and believing, given the difficulty of finding people, that they set the rules, they demanded that we double the rations, threatening to leave us if they did not get satisfaction. The two carpenters were at the head of the mutiny. Pharoux stated to them that he would not give them more; that if, last year, the surveyors' men had had more, it was because they were constantly living in the woods and therefore exposed to the harshness of the weather at night as well as during the day; that our neighbors did not even give out any rum at all; and that those who were not content with our rations could leave; that, however, when he should employ them in very difficult work, he was fair enough to have their rations increased; but that he would never allow them to dictate to him the rules concerning those things which ought to depend on his good will alone. The second carpenter said that he found that to be fair, and that as for himself, his ration was enough. The first carpenter, finding himself alone then, felt foolish and finally agreed to stay. And then, to get rid of their bad mood, they went on a hike to Topping's, from where they came back in the evening with M. Tassart, whom they had met up with.

M. Tassart had had our flour covered and stored properly in Steuben, and for two shillings, had had the covering of our store repaired by the farmer. From Steuben M. Tassart brought us back some tea, some tin plates, paper and our large powder horn. Pharoux and G. Desjardins went to the meadow with Baptiste and François to reconnoitre the areas where it would easiest to mow. This work will be begun tomorrow. Brought back two small ducks,[16] two partridges and a small tortoise, with which M. Tassart will make us the first *pâté* that will be eaten in Castorland. Baptiste and the men went fishing in the evening, and they brought back many fish.

Monday, 6 July 1795 I hired Enos Allen at the rate of 13 dollars per month. This young man knows surveying and will be able to follow Pharoux in his expeditions and help him in his work: which is what decided me to give him this rate. I sent father Perrot on ahead so that he could go looking for the goats, and I set a rendez-vous with him in Steuben. The waggon from Steuben arrived in the evening; I settled with him and had the 4 waggons loaded. I then made an inventory of what remained, a copy of which I gave to Mr. Post who will deliver the loads which remain to the waggoners, upon our orders.

Settlement. The men were given breakfast as soon as it was day in order that they might leave early for the meadow and take advantage of the good weather. This meadow is a half-mile north-east from our loghouse; it may contain about twenty *arpents*, and was formed from a beaver pond, the dam of which had broken and so exposed the terrain. At little expense an excellent

meadow could be made from it, but unfortunately for us, it is on Inman. All our men were busy making hay, except for the two carpenters, who continued work on the large canoe. In spite of our surveillance, our mowers did not get much done: they complained of the mosquitoes. A storm interrupted our hay-making. Our men came back thoroughly soaked. Did our second baking.

Tuesday, 7 July 1795 Finally left around 8 from Fort Schuyler with the two waggons loaded with rum, nails and the other objects most likely to arouse the temptation of the Yankees. I had with me only the two waggoners and Allen. Six miles out we stopped at a farm where I found our sow, which had just had a litter. I made an agreement with the farmer that he would keep her three weeks, until her young could follow her, and that we would pay him the expense. We slept six miles further on in a loghouse on the Holland Patent, where we were treated rather well.

Settlement. The men busy with the hay; M. Tassart and Baptiste, with sowing the little garden of last year, which we enlarged a bit. The two carpenters worked on the large canoe. Ferlent became unwell and, unable to expose himself to mowing while standing in the water, cut some wood around the house and made some scythe handles. Pharoux left on horseback to meet Desjardins in order to help him in case any accident should happen to the waggons, intending to go all the way to Fort Schuyler if he did not meet up with him. One of the ducks bought by Pharoux died from the stings of the *brûlots*, a kind of very small fly. The Canadians had already warned us of the difficulty one encounters in raising ducks in the new settlements due to these insects.

Wednesday, 8 July 1795 Left at 6 with the two waggons. Stopped at 10 near the driver's house where we ate a bit and let our oxen rest, very tired from the muddy going. Coming back to harness the waggons, the care of which I had entrusted to Allen, I noticed that the jolting had staved in the barrel of nails: it was repaired as best as one could. We left around 2, and such is the poor condition of the roads that we took five hours to make the 3 miles from there to Steuben. I had a great deal of difficulty in getting through on horseback. We arrived finally in Steuben at seven, where I met up with Pharoux, who decided to come back with me and to delay his trip to Fort Stanwix, given the imminent arrival of Mr. Brodhead, which I informed him of. After inspecting our store and picking up a sack of potatoes which M. Tassart had kept for us, we went 2 miles further to spend the night at Rogger's.

Settlement. The carpenters assembled the two pieces of the large canoe, and worked on the smaller parts for coupling; the other men busy with the hay. The work of sowing the garden was also finished.

Thursday, 9 July Left Rogger's at 6. Father Perrot joined up with us there with the two goats which had been found. We noticed that some nails had

been stolen from us out of the barrel during the night, but we could not get them returned: they claimed some passer-bys had done the job, although scarcely anyone uses these roads. We once again had to pretend to believe it. The poor roads did not allow us to go all the way to Topping's, as our waggons got stuck in the mud twice, which made us lose a great deal of time. We made only 16 miles in the course of the whole day and camped under an old shelter of bark which we fixed up. The mosquitoes dined well, at our expense.

Settlement. Our men mowed, and turned the hay. The carpenters completed the large canoe. Baptiste made and put in a door for our study: by means of this, our provisions will be a little more secure. A third baking was made, which used up the remaining barrel of flour.

Friday, 10 July 1795 As the mosquitoes had kept us awake, we again started on our way as soon as there was enough light to guide us. We arrived around 8 in the morning at Topping's; we left there at 9. Our waggon had been so mis-treated that it broke down several times. Finally, as the front axle was failing completely, I had the other waggoner stop. A shelter was set up for Allen and Perrot, whom I left to guard the broken waggon. Pharoux went on ahead to send back the carpenter to repair the cart, and I accompanied the other to Castorland, where I arrived around four.

Settlement. Baptiste put a lock in the door of our study; then he put in the door for the entrance, after which he went to help turn the hay. Pharoux arrived around 2; he had the young carpenter leave with the waggoner in order to repair the broken waggon. Our haymakers have piled up a haystack. Paid the waggoner from Steuben.

Saturday, 11 July 1795 *Settlement*. Our waggon, repaired, arrived around noon, with the two goats, which were led by father Perrot. We found ourselves all together again at last, and provided with the most necessary objects. The workmen piled up another stack of hay; they have made about eight tons, 16 thousand-weight; in the afternoon, the carpenters made a large table with the planks that had been brought and began a desk for Pharoux. The thermometer rose to 84°. Very good weather.

Sunday, 12 July Rest for our workmen, who took advantage of it to do their washing. We have arranged our loft and our belongings. Our neighbor Butterfield came with his two carpenters to fish at the fall. He promised us to cede them to us in three weeks when his saw-mill was finished. We thanked him, although quite convinced that it was only an honest pretext to get a drink of grog, since we knew that he was about to be evicted from his farm for his failing to have kept the engagement for the construction of this mill, which should have been finished last year and which he is incapable of executing due to lack of funds. In spite of the decisiveness of the Abbé Pluche in his *Spectacle de la nature*, the damoiselle preserves within its elegant form all the ferocity of its original state of lion-ant.[17] We saw one holding an

ant in its claws and tearing at it. In the evening noticed an insect resembling the *cousin* in form but clothed in the most brilliant colors.[18] Examined a large fly, striped white and black, which falls buzzing upon the roving fly,[19] seizes and devours it. Found a double beaver tooth still attached to its socket. Saw a dragon-fly, the body of which is a scarlet red. Caught a beetle smaller than the mayfly, whose entire body and claws are bronze color, mingled with gold.

Monday, 13 July 1795 We decided to delay the departure for the construction of the saw-mill until after the end of the mowing and the arrival of Mr. Brodhead. As the weather was very favorable, the mowers and haymakers raised a fine haystack. The first carpenter worked very little, claiming to be sick. The second, having finished the desk, began to make a small canoe for M. Tassart. When the men came back from the meadow, we joined together to bring the canoe down from the mountain and bring it to the water's edge where it will be finished.

Wednesday [*sic*], 14 July Given the rain during the night, we did not go to the meadow. We set the two carpenters to making windows for the log-houses. The other workmen were put to work grubbing up the woods and cutting down the trees along the river behind the house.[20] One man finished hollowing out the feed-trough. Two others went in the canoe to look for clay soil to coat the house with. In the evening, three men worked at clearing; two others coated the house, which Baptiste trimmed between the logs using left-over pieces of the sawed wood.

Wednesday, 15 July 1795 The two carpenters busy making windows. The other workmen put to work until breakfast on clearing, then on the meadow. Noticing that a loaf of sugar had been taken from us in a chest nailed and placed above our study, we charged Baptiste with making a partition in the loft above the one over our study. In order to block any connection with the outside, a shutter will also be made to close off the window in the loft.

Thursday, 16 July The carpenters at the same task; the others, on clearing, until breakfast; then, on the meadow. Baptiste has finished the partition for the loft. This loft will provide us with an upper store-room. At 4 Pharoux, accompanied by François Sabourin, left on horseback to go to Fort Stanwix and from there, on to New Rotterdam to obtain the information necessary to have our provisions transported via Salmon Creek, since they cannot get through Oswego.

Friday, 17 inst The carpenters at the same task. As the weather was threatening a storm, M. Tassart and Baptiste joined the haymakers to help them complete the chore. Around 4, there arrived five people, among whom was Roggers, one of the farmers from Steuben. They told us that they were coming to look at our lands, and they plan to leave tomorrow for their exploration.

Saturday, 18 inst The carpenters *idem*. The work on the meadow was finished yesterday. Five stacks of hay were gathered, which will be brought here this autumn. Kept the workmen busy cutting wood, cutting it into logs and piling up the branches so they can be set on fire. As for the logs, they will be used to make fences and wood for heating. The baking has furnished 41½ pounds of bread. Weather overcast, but without rain.

Observed ducks going to peck horseflies from the very noses of our oxen lounging around the enclosure, and indulgently the oxen allow them to do so.

Our land-visitors asked us for supplies, in exchange for payment. We said to them that we were not keeping a tavern, and having scarcely what was necessary to keep our own people fed, the difficulty of transporting prevented us from giving any away, as we had to economize them very precisely. They seemed very surprised at our refusing their money, something which is indeed scarcely seen in this country. We said to them that 7 miles from here, at Topping's, they could obtain some easily. As they had none however, we gave them something for breakfast *gratis*, asking them to furnish themselves better in the future and to bring this to the attention of their acquaintances who should come with the same intention. Four of them left at daybreak and came back at two in the afternoon. Hoff, the waggoner, brought us four barrels of flour from Steuben. The 5 land-searchers left with him.

Sunday, 19 July 1795 Rest for our workmen. They nonetheless worked on the canoe for M. Tassart out of consideration for the rum that he promised them. They finished it, and it was launched in the evening.

Monday, 20 inst Sent Baptiste with the carpenter (Allen and Robinson guiding four oxen) to repair our waggon, which remained two miles from Topping's. The waggoner will then go get the rest of our belongings at Steuben, and Baptiste will continue on to Mr. Boon's store to buy tar and sugar, which will be brought back by the same occasion. The carpenter will come back here, after repairing the waggon. The first carpenter continued making windows. The other men busy clearing.

Tuesday, 21 July 1795 The second carpenter did not come back until 11 in the morning; he says that he had to make some new yokes. He took up his work with the first carpenter again. Allen and Robinson left to guide the waggon. Cross, one of our best men, said he was sick and kept himself busy fishing and canoeing. Ferlent and Perrot worked at clearing. The firing produced 46½ lbs of bread. We went by canoe to examine the lower part of the river, in order to look for any meadows. Our researches were fruitless.

Wednesday, 22 July Before breakfast, the carpenters worked on the windows; then we had them look for the wood necessary for building a wagon-gate, which will be set into the middle of the fence, between the yard and the future garden. Cross conducted the oxen, which have hauled the logs to make the said fence, which will separate the house and the projected

stable. The loghouse for the Canadian family, on the other hand, will be constructed along the road and will serve as our kitchen. Ferlent and Perrot have grubbed up along the line for the fence, to facilitate access for the oxen. Burned a pile of brush which was beginning to dry. We have charged Baptiste with inquiring about a woman who would be needed to do the cooking and housekeeping for the men who will be used in the construction of the mill. As a result, we had at noon the visit of a man named Trueman, who engaged himself with us as a workman, at the rate of 11 dollars per month, and his wife at the rate of 3 dollars. Agreement with him that he will take advantage of our waggon's return to have his belongings transported. In the afternoon, by means of the oxen, Perrot and Cross brought the logs for the fence onto the site. The carpenters have fitted the frame for the window of our study. In the evening, 2 men came under the pretext of viewing lands; they said that they were going all the way to the Lake and asked us which were the lands that we wanted to sell. On the map we showed them which ones were reserved to be sold by lot. Then Butterfield came and knowing that we intended to have the Fort Stanwix road cut, which we had Mr. Brodhead mark last year, proposed to us that we alter the plan for it in order to have it pass in front of his door. We did not judge it appropriate to accede to his request, which would lengthen our travel by three miles. Butterfield assured us that Mr. Brodhead had arrived at Fort Stanwix, which made us hope that Pharoux had likely met him there.

Thursday, 23 July 1795 The weather being rainy, we used the men to saw the logs of the house from the inside, to make openings for the windows. M. Tassart came down by canoe with the 2 men who had arrived yesterday, to view the Independence River. Father Perrot made a small fence which goes down from the house to the river, to cut off the passage for the livestock. The carpenters placed a window in the common room, and then worked on the posts for the large door of the enclosure. In the evening, the posts were put in. Allen came back with a white cow, which Baptiste had bought in Steuben. The oven produced 44 pounds of bread.

Friday, 24 July 1795 M. Tassart came back at 6 in the morning with the 2 men. From Otter Creek they had brought back a large tortoise weighing 43 pounds. At 7, these 2 men left by the road to Steuben. Perrot and Allen hauled logs with the oxen while the carpenters and Cross sawed logs to make the 3rd window. At noon, Baptiste returned with the waggon, Trueman, his wife and their belongings. Baptiste brought us back some sugar, but Mr. Boon refused to give us any tar. In the evening, there again arrived two land-visitors. Pharoux, accompanied by Mr. Brodhead and Sabourin, came back at nightfall. We learned from Mr. Brodhead that the batteau which we had sent down to Schenectady by our boatmen to Mr. Miller to be repaired, and used to bring up Mr. Brodhead's provisions, had been stolen from us in the port the very night of its arrival.

Saturday, 25 inst We used the day to organize the directives for the surveying with Mr. Brodhead. At noon, we were paid a visit by the new holders of Inman's triangle, Messrs. Stow and Store.[21] They told us that they would have about forty settlers next autumn. We do wish that they execute all their projects. The prosperity of their settlement will contribute to ours. But we have noticed that, in general, the imagination moves as quickly as the execution moves slowly in this country. Kept the men busy at clearing; two to go look for clay and hay to cob our loghouse, as installing the windows has made nearly all the mortar fall out. The carpenters have sawed up two large beams of fir, from which they made the frames for the windows and the door of the loghouse for the Canadians. The frame of the large door has been installed today. We had some pine trees cut in order to procure turpentine and to make up for the tar which we lacked.

Sunday, 26 July 1795 Rest for our workers. We worked on drafting the plan for the survey. Baptiste has repaired and hung out our net from last year, which had almost rotted away in the Steuben store. Sent Perrot & François by canoe to look along the river for a meadow good for mowing, as we have harvested in the other meadow only about half of what will be needed to get the livestock through the winter. M. Tassart went with Mr. Brodhead to Topping's; he came back in the evening, and told us that the purchasers of Inman were selling lots at the rate of three dollars an acre, payable over three years. One of Mr. Brodhead's surveyors arrived in the evening with his company.

Monday, 27 July The surveyor left in the morning with his men, to rejoin Mr. Brodhead. The carpenters made a door for the Canadian loghouse. The other workers cleared land. Mr. Brodhead arrived at 11 and left at noon, taking with him the planning directives which we had completed. He is going to recruit some men and have his provisions brought to him. He asked us for our waggons, but we made it clear to him that as we did not have enough people for ourselves, we were unable to help him in this regard. On the contrary, we charged him with hiring men for us, if there were any beyond the number that he needed. We let him know of our annoyance at his delay. He had promised us to begin the work on the 1st of June, and on the 1st of August it will not have been begun. He promised us to make good this delay as much as it would be in his power, putting forward as his excuse an illness that had detained him more than a month in his bedroom. Finally, he assured us that he would come back as soon as possible. Rainstorm, which delayed our workers. One of our oxen broke its horn 4 days earlier during its last trip: he is now better. The horn was hollow at the spot where it broke. Pharoux began the map of Castorland, from Inman's point to the end of the 9 miles.[22] We have decided to begin by making this map in order to provide some idea of the work and, at the same time, to detail our first portion of lots to be sold, which we decided would be on both sides of Otter Creek.

Tuesday, 28 July 1795 We sent some men off with the oxen to get several planks made last year and which had remained on the mountain; the carpenters set them up to close off the gable above the door. Four men mowed what remained of the meadow. Two others hauled some logs with the oxen. In the evening, land cleared and the wood burned.

Wednesday, 29 inst The carpenters made and installed the door for the loft and finished closing the gable. They also made an opening in the roof to allow smoke to escape. We had 4 men leave in the large canoe with provisions for 4 days: they are to mow the best meadow that they come across. Baptiste will direct them. The barrel of flour has produced 246 lbs, 8 ounces of bread: it must contain 196 pounds of flour: which gives an increase of only a fifth. Installed a shutter at the window of the loft, above our study. Ferlent, still indisposed and believing that he was suffering from kidney-stones, asked us for permission to go to New York to get cured, the only place where he could get any medical attention, since there is a French hospital and surgeons. We therefore gave him a letter of recommendation for our Consul so that, although Canadian, he could be received at the French hospital. He left, charged with our commissions for Albany and New York. Tarred the large canoe.

Thursday, 30 July 1795 We sent two workers to cut wood to make oars for the large canoe, and we all assembled in order to launch it this morning. As we did not have enough tar, it takes in a little water. At noon, one of the mowers who had come back by land informed us that his comrades had found 4 miles from here an excellent meadow where ten stacks of hay could be made. He left after dinner with another man whom we gave him. Baptiste went to turn the hay mown the day before yesterday in our nearest meadow. The two carpenters made some oars. Perrot went to gather turpentine and make more cuts in the pine trees.

Friday, 31 July Having already used up all of our tow, we made more from the old ropes. The carpenters repaired the large canoe from last year. Its stern was rebuilt. It was entirely caulked, and the work of caulking and tarring the new one completed: it is now quite watertight. We tried it out: it performs very well and in spite of its size, is easily managed. The mowers are at the 4 mile meadow. Baptiste made a ladder. In the evening the carpenters made a table. One of Mr. Brodhead's surveyors arrived in the afternoon with his company and left to draw the boundary line according to Mr. Cockburn's direction. Pharoux finished his map of that section of Castorland which lies along the nine miles of Inman.

Saturday, First of August 1795 The impracticability of establishing our first saw-mill as low as the Long falls, 45 miles from here by water, and the low utility it would be for the upper settlements, given the need in which one would find oneself of bringing the planks back upriver over so long a

distance, made us decide to look for a location more nearby. We have assumed that Otter Creek, 11 miles away, could provide us with a more nearby location; consequently, Messrs. Pharoux, Tassart, the two carpenters and Trueman left in the morning by canoe to go there, to examine the site and to take the levels, if necessary. In passing, they are to view the meadow that is being mown. The other men have worked at the clearing. In the evening, the mowers and the haymakers came back.

Sunday, 2 August After exploring Otter Creek and choosing a very good mill site, Pharoux and his company returned at 7 in the morning. However, in transferring the measurements to the map, it appeared to us uncertain whether the site lay beyond our boundary, which led us to order father Perrot, who was once a surveyor, to go tomorrow all the way to Otter Creek by land, following the boundary line with the compass in order to ensure the accuracy of our points. Two turtles and a young heron were brought back from Otter Creek. After dinner, the 2 carpenters drew M. Tassart's canoe out onto dry land and completed work on it.

Monday, 3 August As soon as it was morning, Pharoux went back down by canoe with 7 men, who were supplied with provisions, to finish mowing the meadow. Two of them will go with him to the boundary line to meet father Perrot at the place where the line crosses Otter Creek. Then M. Tassart left to go to White'stown, in order to hire some men on M. Olive's behalf. The carpenters are working on the windows and on the door to the loghouse for the mill.

Tuesday, 4 August 1795 The carpenters continued doing the same work. They then made a mounting to be used with a grindstone. At 10, Pharoux came back from his inspection of Otter Creek. The site chosen turns out to be, unfortunately, several chains beyond the line: because of which, we will have to make a dyke and a spillway in order to establish the mill on our land. In returning, Pharoux traced out the road by land from here to the mill. This will be only 7 miles, instead of the 12 by water. We have discovered a spring at the bottom of the slope at the very spot where we go down to get water from the river. This spring is very cool and excellent, and will save us much wasted time. As the water from the Black River is poor and warm, we had to go by canoe to look for purer water at the mouths of the small creeks nearby, a task which necessitated frequent outings. Had lengths of wood cut for the construction of the Canadian loghouse and a stable.

Wednesday, 5 August Our carpenters made another door, a table, a mason's level, some rulers and a square. All our other workers and Baptiste are at the meadow hastening to finish it.

Thursday, 6 August Our mowers and haymakers got back at 10 in the morning, Baptiste having had much difficulty in getting them to work.

Fortunately, half of our men being Canadian and the other half American, a kind of emulation is maintained between them which prevents them from uniting against us and from giving their little plots more serious repercussions, for their greatest desire is solely to be well fed, well paid and to work as little as possible. As for dismissing them, it would only mean taking on others who would not be worth any more, and who would be perhaps even more difficult subjects, as our current men have no other defect than insubordination and laziness, a general defect in this country, while last year we had among them some real villains. Moreover, before we might procure others, which is difficult, we are reduced to doing nothing, and there are expenses involved in going to hire them, besides the costs of their travel, which we have to pay. Finally, one has to have led these men in order to know all the difficulty and the patience that one must have. People who know nothing more of this will say that we need only have the work done by contract per job, but aside from the fact that these people care nothing about contracting, unless the gain is excessive, since they can find day work at very high wages, or they do almost nothing other than what they want, there's the fact that it is impossible to get an idea of their bad faith. There's the fact that they never execute faithfully the business agreements they conclude. There's the fact that if they receive any advances, they abandon right then the work they started for you. If you refuse to give advances, they likewise abandon you. There's the fact that your projected work, which must be finished in one month, will not be done in six. There's the fact that, finally, if the business agreement is advantageous enough, if the contractors are sober enough and far enough along to complete it, there is no kind of fraud that they will not use to deceive you, either in the materials or in the execution. We have all the neighboring settlements as proof of these facts. And the wisest course, although the most costly one, in appearance, is to use them at a daily rate, to oversee their work and to manage them with the greatest possible exactness and, especially, to acquire a great store of patience supported with firmness and gentleness and used in alternation according to the circumstances: for to think of having recourse to the justices of the peace, etc. in the woods, is to know neither the country nor the people with whom one has to deal. In the morning, the carpenters made a piece of wood for a trestle bed and some rulers for themselves. We have had all the old bits of rope frayed in order to obtain some tow to caulk the ferry. Perrot went to gather some resin; the others worked on the clearing. In the afternoon, we caulked the ferry; then with the help of the oxen, we launched it. Mr. Brodhead's canoe was brought back, which the water had carried a mile and a half away. Preparations for departure were then made.

Friday, 7 August 1795 Before breakfast, the ferry was drawn out of the water; it was turned over, tarred and put back in the water. It is now quite watertight. The preparations were finished, the large new canoe was loaded,

and the large one from the year before, which is very well repaired. At three in the afternoon, Pharoux and G. Desjardins embarked for Otter Creek with the 2 carpenters, 4 workers and Trueman's wife, nine people in all. We arrived safely at Otter Creek around half past 6. The waters, being low, forced us several times to get out into the water to push the canoes, which were heavily loaded. Scarcely had our things been unloaded and put under cover on the somewhat elevated shore, when the storm, which had been threatening us for a long time, burst out with rain and a storm.

Settlement. I remained at the settlement with Baptiste, the 2 Canadians and Ferlent's wife. The two Canadians pruned the wood at the site intended to be made into pasture. Baptiste worked on making a floor for the loft, above our study. I kept busy writing up the journal from our fieldbooks from the preceding years, Pharoux having requested me to take on this task.

Saturday, 8 August 1795 *Settlement*. I had the yard cleaned up by the Canadians; the wood shavings gathered up and burned; the wood for burning cut and split; the lumber, separated and stacked. In the afternoon, the brush in the pasture was cut. Had bread baked for Pharoux's camp. At 7 in the evening, two men came from Mr. Guitteau's company, one of Mr. Brodhead's surveyors.[23] They informed me of the arrival of their chief, who was charged by Mr. Brodhead with surveying upper Castorland. They seemed to me to be disposed to buying some lots from us. Baptiste was busy with the floor and sawed pine boards.

Mill. Pharoux had the path that was to lead from the river to the mill site marked out. But after examining the location again with the carpenter, they observed that the sluice which would have to be made would be very costly, and that if in the springtime there should be very high waters—which the current's rapidity and the high mountains in the distance seemed to provide good reason to fear—the carpenter would not vouch for the flood wall's resistance. Because of the insufficiency of our means, which do not allow us to risk expenditures, it was therefore decided that we would proceed to the Long falls immediately. We embarked all of our things and left to spend the night beyond Beaver River, a mile from Deer Creek, which flows from Boylstone's side.

Sunday, 9 August 1795 *Settlement*. Rest. Fishing and hunting unsuccessful. Waited in vain for Pharoux's return.

Mill. Left at 7, after having re-embarked all of our things, which had been sheltered from the rain by our tent and our two tarpaulins. The large new canoe takes in much water and will need to be recaulked. Arrived at the long falls at 11. Had our things unloaded, the tent and tarps pitched on the upper landing. During this time, Pharoux and the 1st carpenter went to choose the site for the mill. As the waters are very low this year, and observing along our route that all the smaller creeks were dry, we were afraid of not finding enough water in the spot that we had in mind: but water more than

sufficient was found there. The location is very favorable. Below is another very good location for a flour-mill. The expense for the sluices will be a small matter. As the rock ascends in beds which are rather thin, the excavation of the canal will be facilitated. After dinner, we continued to set up our camp. We did some fishing, and we found ourselves as comfortable as one could be in the woods.

Monday, 10 August 1795 *Settlement*. The 2 Canadians worked at clearing. Baptiste made a portmanteau out of wood, and worked on the floor. Marguerite made some soap which was very effective and which will allow us to save on that. In the afternoon, Perrot having hurt his leg with his axe, I put him to work sorting nails of different sizes that got mixed up together in the barrels.

Mill. Sent Cross and Robinson in the canoe back to the great fall to get provisions. They are bearers of a letter informing Desjardins of our operations. Had the others cut down and clear the site for the loghouse for the mill. Placed and leveled the foundation logs for the house. The large number of large trees, the unevenness of the terrain, which is filled with rocks, the lack of oxen and our small number will bring about many delays for us. Nature has indicated the location for the feeder canal. We will need some powder and a couple of workers trained to make mines. The surface shows every indication of being easily removed.

Tuesday, 11 August 1795 *Settlement*. Same work as yesterday. At 9, Mr. Guitteau's two men, having made a canoe, left to go back, being at the end of their provisions. At 10, Mr. Brodhead arrived, bringing them back. M. Tassart showed up with two Indians whom he had hired at Oneida, having been unable to procure any other workers. The surveyor sent to draw the boundary lines returned at noon, without having been able to finish it, for lack of provisions. Mr. Brodhead brought me some letters and informed me that Mr. Van Allen and all of his company had returned without having been able to complete the surveying of No. 4, due to the illnesses and the extreme variation of the compass. He ran again the Campbell line and found it to be very accurate. At two, M. Tassart left again in his canoe with his 2 Indians, to join up with Pharoux and choose lands for M. Olive. At 4, Mr. Brodhead, after having conferred with me, left to go join Mr. Guitteau at Topping's, and to send Mr. Young via Lake Ontario to survey Penet's square and, from there, lower Castorland. I gave him a letter of recommendation for King'stown. At 7, M. Tassart, having met up with the large canoe which was coming back up, came back with the men.

Mill. Repaired the old oven at the foot of the falls. We used it to make a first batch of bread. The waters, at Meridian Rock, are at the same level as last year. In their overflowing, they did not quite rise to the foot of the oven, so that we will be able to build at this location, which will be the landing for everything coming from below. We have taken the level of an excellent spring, which we will be able to easily direct to the mill house. Our workers have worked well. All the joists are squared.

Wednesday, 12 August 1795 *Settlement*. We tried to get the oxen and cow onto the ferry to bring them to the long falls, just as Pharoux had noted it to me, but scarcely had it been loaded when it filled with water: it having been constructed with green wood, the joints had widened upon drying; moreover, the load was too heavy for low waters, and the animals did not remain still. I was therefore forced to send them by land. I used the two Indians as they were more accustomed to living in the woods and getting through the difficult stretches. I added to them Cross, one of our men of whom I was sure. They crossed the river with two pair of oxen, the white cow and a horse. I had them take the other side in order to avoid the swamps and the crossing of Beaver River. There is, moreover, a path marked by our men who always follow this side whenever they come on foot from the Long falls. I loaded the things into the large canoe, to be conducted by M. Tassart, with Robinson and father Perrot as rowers. I then had Baptiste leave for Fort Schuyler to bring our letters and to see about engaging men for us. I finally found myself reduced only to François, whom I put to work cutting up logs and burning the dead wood and brush along the shore. In the evening, there arrived a man sent by Mr. Brodhead, who informed us in a letter that he was sick at Butterfield's, and that he was having much difficulty in finding men. I answered him and engaged him to come confer Sunday.

Mill. The two workers sawed out some planks that the carpenters dressed with their axes. The lack of manpower is forcing us to use the carpenters for the rougher work.

Thursday, 13 August 1795 *Settlement*. As soon as it was morning, sent François to look for the 2 pair of oxen that remain with us, and which did not come back yesterday evening. He came back from the mowed meadow and from the 3 mile meadow without having found them. Returned after breakfasting, came back at 3:30, after unsuccessful searchings. We fear that these oxen may have joined those sent to the mill. Returned at 4 in the evening. I myself went in the direction of Moose River, but to no avail.

Mill. The work of completely flooring the loghouse was finished. In the evening, M. Tassart arrived in the large canoe. He brought us 3 letters which Mr. Brodhead had delivered to him, one from Pharoux's father, one from a M. Tardif, master-mason from Saint-Domingue, who was asking us for work; the third from Mr. Constable in response to ours sent from Fort Schuyler. This letter promises us no more satisfaction from him than from his agents and associates. An hour later arrived Cross and the 2 Indians who were bringing us the livestock, without having experienced any accident.

Friday, 14 August 1795 *Settlement*. Kept François busy cutting logs and picking the area for the garden. At 8 in the morning, the 2 cows came back. An hour later, the pair of young oxen. The large pair is not yet back.

Mill. As soon as it was morning we had the two barrels of flour and the mill-stone, which got here yesterday, transported to the loghouse. The livestock got successfully across to our side, although the river is very wide and

the current a bit strong. After breakfast, in order to put up the building, and to take advantage of the fact that we were all together, the oxen were harnessed to haul the logs. The cable and pullies which we had received helped a great deal. In the evening saw a water snake. It is marked with large black rings separated by white, narrower rings: it was swimming with its head out of water, and holding in its mouth a small fish. Also saw a large green snake, two feet long. In the evening, the fire used in clearing having gained around the loghouse, the time which we needed to use to cut it off, prevented us from finishing the loghouse. Only two rows of logs are needed at this point.

Saturday, 15 August 1795 *Settlement*. Had the dead wood that cannot be used hauled by the oxen, piled up and burned.

Mill. After breakfast, Messrs. Pharoux and Tassart, furnished with provisions, left by canoe for the great fall. On the way, Pharoux was to show M. Tassart the portion of land that the commissioners had indicated to M. Olive for his 4050 acres, this portion being the most advantageous in the 20,000 acres from which, according to his title, he can choose. Gave Pharoux my letters for my brother and my sister. Made a note of the items which we need in addition to the provisions. Finished raising the loghouse, which will be covered with bark by the Indians, upon Pharoux's return. The 2 carpenters worked on the frame for the roof, while I had all the camp belongings transported from the landing to the loghouse. We have finally moved in, and we are all sleeping this night at the new camp.

Sunday, 16 August *Settlement*. Our cows and the two pair of oxen came back. Messrs. Pharoux and Tassart arrived in the large canoe at 7 in the evening, with Cross and the 2 Indians. Mr. Brodhead not having come to the rendez-vous indicated for today, we decided that Pharoux would go tomorrow to Butterfield's to confer with him.

Mill. Rest for our men. Had our belongings put away in our loghouse.

Monday, 17 August Pharoux left for Butterfield's. M. Tassart went to Topping's. I paid Cross, whose time had expired and who left us to go settle on the Susquehannah. I had one of the waggons transported over to our side in the ferry and had the wood for heating, which had been cut during the clearing, carted into the yard. I kept the Indians busy in lifting spruce bark to cover the stable. At eleven, three men from Mr. Brodhead came and brought me a cat, which will be very useful to us for defending our provisions from the mice and squirrels. We spent the evening completing the directives for the surveying and the roads to be traced. In the evening, Mr. Brodhead left with his company to finally begin the work.

Mill. Used the men to prune the brush, cut down trees in front of the house down to the river, along the cascades, and to help the carpenters raise the final logs and joists. There now remain only the rafters to put up.

Tuesday, 18 August 1795 *Settlement*. Lengthy discussion with M. Tassart over the choice of lands for M. Olive. We showed him M. Olive's contract and the letter in which he asks us to make the choice for him. M. Tassart claimed that the lands are better on the Lake. We pointed out to him the impossibility of settling there, as the English were not letting anyone pass by through Oswego, and that, by land, the distance and lack of roads would make this project impracticable. He still insisted on his idea: his stubbornness seemed to us to come from a wish to postpone the settlement for which he was sent, and to spend his time traveling at M. Olive's expense, without having to work and provide for his upkeep. We accordingly stated to him that we had designated his site for him; that therefore, it was time that he got to work on his settlement and on procuring the necessary men; that as Pharoux was going back down to the mill and Desjardins was leaving for Albany, he could not stay here, as he seemed desirous of doing, since he would be of no use here, neither to us nor to M. Olive. We engaged him then to leave for Fort Schuyler. He did not appear to be very happy with our decision and told us that he would write to M. Olive. Pharoux therefore also wrote him to explain to him the reasons that we had had in designating his choice as we have done. We abstained from reflections on the thoughtless conduct of M. Tassart, as this young man truly did need employment and, moreover, did have some good qualities. The Indians continued to lift bark. They made one hundred pieces, 6 feet long by five wide. The Canadians burned the branches and hauled the logs to make the fence for the enclosure. At 9, Baptiste came back from Fort Schuyler with a worker that he had hired at the rate of 11 dollars per month. He had been unable to hire a waggoner to transport our things nor find more workers. Baptiste brought us back two pigs at five dollars each. He had to leave our sow at Platt's and her young family, which was too tired out from the road.

Mill. Had the trees around the loghouse cut down to protect it from their falling. The carpenters made the rafters. Examined a violet beetle, which, with a large rear ovipositor, given its size, pierces holes in wood in order to deposit its eggs in it.

Wednesday, 19 August 1795 *Settlement*. In the morning, we went to look for the oxen and cows. One of our oxen found to have a swollen leg, we had to give up the idea of bringing them along to Fort Schuyler, as a single pair was insufficient for such pathways. I had the rest of the fire-wood carted by the other pair. Pharoux wrote his letters for New York and for France. I charged myself with going to Albany to get the funds that M. Olive was to send us for the 1st of September. I was supposed to hire en route an iron-worker,[24] a worker indispensable for finishing the mill; to buy and ship back tools for a forge. I was supposed as well to buy flour at Little Falls and have it sent back; finally, to find if possible waggoners for transport. I thought that I could assure Pharoux that I would be back around the 15th of 7ber.[25] We

decided that Baptiste, in whom we could have confidence, would stay here to direct the work and watch over the provisions, as my brother could not leave the camp at the mill, given the fact that Pharoux, as soon as Mr. Brodhead came back, was counting on going with him to the Lake and to King'stown, for which city I gave Pharoux a letter of recommendation that I had obtained from Mr. Cuyler for Mr. Cartwright, a leading judge of that place. Finally, all of our arrangements being set, he left at 11 in the large canoe, with the two Indians, taking along provisions and the young calf that we wanted to wean, and which promised to make a fine bull.

Mill. The rafters were installed in the loghouse. Had the oxen haul and pile up the logs that could be used for lumber, and set fire to all the rest of the clearing behind the loghouse. The carpenters sawed the opening of the left window and put in the frame. In the evening, the second window was put in. Some of the workers guided the fire; others continued the clear cutting, and have cut the trees into logs, following the dimensions provided by the carpenters.

Thursday, 20 August 1795 *Settlement*. The violent rain made me delay my departure. I kept the workers busy with filling the spaces between the joists with bits of wood, fitting glass to the windows, sorting nails, sharpening tools and fitting them with handles, all these being tasks which are reserved for such moments.

Mill. Heavy rain, which reassured us about our loghouse. The fires lit yesterday around the camp had, in spite of our prudence, put it in danger. We had been obliged to pour water several times on the line traced out for separation. The fire, which ran from root to root through the earth, was only thoroughly extinguished by this rain. Our workers were very happy with the rain. However, in order not to keep them entirely without work, I gave them orders to keep busy making handles for axes, benches and seats; but when the rain stopped, they went off fishing, except for the 1st carpenter and Robinson, who went to get the door for the loghouse, which door still had not yet been transported from the camp at the landing, and they put it in place. Our men finally came back from their fishing, and were willing to take up their axes again. After dinner, the carpenters placed the logs and the floor for the foundation for the oven. They made with Allen a stretcher to carry the stones which will be used for building the oven and chimney, the hearth for which was begun yesterday. The courses for the hearth have been cemented with good clay, which we found nearby fortunately. The stone is not good: it splits easily and is not resistant to fire. Pharoux, thoroughly wet but in good health, arrived with the 2 Indians at 6 in the evening.

Friday, 21 August 1795 Left for Albany with Warren, one of our men. Left Baptiste in charge of the settlement with the two Canadians. Arrived around 6 in Steuben, where I found Mr. Mulligan, who engaged me to stay.

I made the farmer at Steuben promise to give us back a barrel of flour which he had borrowed without our consent.

Settlement. The bushes were grubbed up. Topping & another man came to view Inman's lands. M. Tassart left around 5 for Fort Schuyler.

Mill. The 1st carpenter, aided by Allen, masoned the back of our chimney, while the second carpenter & Robinson brought clay on a stretcher. Trueman brought stones. Dispute between the two carpenters, which we had some difficulty in bringing to an end. Pharoux finally calmed down the father, Dixon, who wanted to leave us; and Peck, the younger, had a great deal of difficulty in admitting to his lack of respect for a man older than he and under whom he was working. After dinner, the chimney was completed and the oven was begun. Robinson and Peck went to cleave wood instead of doing what they had been ordered to do. In the evening Pharoux, to restore order, forbade the doing of any work other than what the first carpenter ordered.

The two Indians, although very tired out from rowing and from the rain, began, as soon as they arrived yesterday evening, to carry stones without their having to be told to do so. Today, they cut and put in poles which are to support the pieces of bark for the covering. Our men don't even wait for sunset to stop work, whereas our Indians work until evening. I do not know if it's emulation or to shame the Whites, but it is certain that the Indians from last year, and those of this year, are certainly preferable to Americans and easier to manage.

Saturday, 22 August 1795 *Journey*. Went to breakfast at Mr. Boon's, where I reserved two barrels of pork: he could promise me neither flour nor waggons. Arrived around 2 at Fort Schuyler. Spoke to Mr. Bagg about our intention of hiring an ironworker and buying blacksmith's tools. He indicated to me Hobby, who offered to sell me the ones that he had inherited from his father; two of his brothers engaged themselves to work for us, one as a blacksmith,[26] the other as a worker for the remainder of the campaign.

Settlement. Wood was cut along the shore along the line. Topping and his associate came to view Inman's lands and thought they were very bad. I kept busy making the floor for the study.

Mill. Had planks sawed and dressed to make a partition in our loghouse. The Indians have completely covered it with wide pieces of bark attached by means of ties made from the bark of linden trees, which they make use of instead of rope. The oven, recently finished, had been constantly heated and maintained by Trueman. Peck was attacked with dysentery: he was put on a diet of rice water.

Sunday, 23 August 1795 *Journey*. I had Mr. Bagg make out an estimate for the blacksmith tools: these came to forty dollars. Then I wrote Baptiste to inform him of what he had to do. I gave him orders to come with the oxen and the waggon to get the tools which were bought, to get some iron at

Mr. Kip's and the barrel of flour owed by the Steuben farmer. I sent my letter by Warren, whom I had brought with me. I left at 10. My horse, already tired from the preceding road, brought me to Little Falls only when night had fallen. I got there very tired out and stopped at Mr. Porteus's, who seemed very embarrassed, and told me that his house was full, having there the canal engineer and his family. I answered that I was not coming to bother him, but to ask him for eight barrels of flour which we needed, and to request of him to have them brought up to Fort Schuyler during my trip to Albany, so that, upon my return, I might find them ready to be brought to Castorland. I requested of him that he address them to Mr. Post's store. I also made complaints to him about the flour which he had delivered to me: the quality of the flour inside the barrel was inferior to that packed on either end. He put the blame on his worthless miller, whom he had dismissed. I then requested of him to give me someone to show me the way to the inn and to guide my horse, the night being very dark and the route full of rocks and obstructed by the work being done on the canal. He told me that he had no one available at the moment. I left then, dragging my horse by the bridle, little satisfied with American politeness. Constantly feeling my way, I arrived very tired at the inn, which I found to be full of workers and travelers. I met there fortunately Briton, one of our boatmen from our first journey on the Lake: his brother was the inn-keeper. With this protection, I obtained the only small bed that there was in the house.

Settlement. Rest. We caught a lot of fish and killed a partridge.

Mill. Rest. Caught several small trout.

Monday, 24 August 1795 I left at daybreak, and I took a path which was pointed out to me, in order to meet the road which is much better on the south of the river. I had quite a bit of difficulty in getting my horse through the rocks, which were like a staircase, the steps of which were at times more than two feet high. I finally reached the end of the pass, which is 2 miles long. Three miles further on, I stopped at David Hesse's, this kind farmer who had received us so well in 1793. Scarcely had I entered, when the entire family recognized me, displayed the greatest joy; in short, everyone surrounded me, eager for news of M. Pharoux and M. Brunel. The better to entertain me, chickens were slaughtered, and I experienced as many signs of good friendship from these honest people as I had endured, the day before, the coldness and selfishness of the rich merchant Porteous. They did not want to allow me to leave after breakfasting. To satisfy them, I had to dine with them, which meant that I was able to go spend the night only at Canajohary, 15 miles further, and 2 miles from Spreaker's ferry.

Settlement. The Canadians working at cutting wood. Baptiste sawed some planks for the loft. Sent François in the evening to look for the livestock.

Mill. Trees were sawn and planks were made. The young carpenter worked on the partition which will separate the two studies. The Indians closed up

one of the gables with pieces of scraped bark, very artistically arranged. The first carpenter made the doors for the study.

Tuesday, 25 August 1795 *Journey*. My horse was so tired that I could make only 36 miles and had to spend the night in a Dutch farm two miles from Schenectady.

Settlement. The men worked on the clearing. At five, Warren came back from Fort Schuyler and brought me the orders from Desjardins.

Mill. Cleared, stripped branches, and lit fires to clear the road which will be used to bring the lumber to the mill. Finished the partitions, the two doors and a floor above our study. With pieces of scraped bark the two Indians closed up the gable on the chimney side. They then brought clay from the bank, and with it re-coated the joints between the logs.

Wednesday, 26 August 1795 Arrived in Schenectady at 7. Saw Mr. Miller about our stolen batteau. He told me that we could have no recourse in this matter as the boatmen whom he suspected of doing this job on their own had doubtlessly conveyed it to the Genesee or other distant regions: from where they will of course ensure that it not be returned. I arrived in Albany for dinner, where I found that our funds had not arrived. I therefore wrote to M. Olive, sending him our letters.

Settlement. Worked on the clearing. Mr. Brodhead came back with his company. He had a man who was sick, whom he had had to leave behind 12 miles from here. Three of his men went to spend the night at Butterfield's. A sick surveyor and a man stayed here. Sent for the oxen to go to Fort Schuyler with the waggon.

Mill. The Indians finished fitting the spaces in the loghouse with clay and bits of wood; they then constructed a bark cover over the oven. The carpenters and Allen squared some lumber for the frame for the mill. Robinson and Trueman have, with the help of the oxen, hauled and stacked the cut wood and made several piles of it, which were set on fire this evening, so that the site is beginning to get cleared up. As much as it is in our power, we set up the fires on the path laid out for the canal in order to split the rocks by the heat of the fire.

Thursday, 27 August 1795 *Settlement*. François Sabourin brought back the oxen; but as the one with the swollen leg is still in no condition to make the trip, I made the decision to go to Fort Schuyler and to attempt to hire en route a waggoner for transporting the forge tools, etc., as this was the course of action that had been indicated to me in such a case. The men busy clearing. At 5, 2 men from Mr. Guitteau came back to get provisions.

Mill. Put all our men to work felling and squaring. The 2 carpenters working in rivalry, our work is thereby advanced the more. Pharoux verified the map of the falls that he had made last year.

Friday, 28 August 1795 *Settlement*. At seven, Baptiste left for Fort Schuyler, and Mr. Guitteau's men went to join their chief. Men busy clearing.

Mill. Same work as yesterday. Our first barrel of flour consumed today has lasted 18 days for 10 persons; that makes per person on average about a pound and ¼ of bread.

Saturday, 29 August 1795 *Settlement*. Cut wood and took advantage of the wind's direction to set fire to the dead branches.

Mill. Same kind of work. Still much rivalry between the two groups. The old Indian having been wounded in the foot, we put him to work fishing. He brought back only some small white fish. The river has much less fish than the great fall.

Sunday, 30 August *Settlement*. Rest. François went to look for the livestock and found them in the meadow which had been mowed.

Mill. Our Indians left in the small canoe to return to the great fall and from there, to their home. Last night, two of our workers having swapped with them their *mokassons* (*souliers de peau de chevreuil*) for their portion of rum, our Indians drank excessively, so that once they had started, they woke us in the middle of the night to ask us for rum, offering to pay for it, which, as one might expect, we refused. They answered that in this case, they would leave as soon as it was morning. They kept their word accordingly, although ashamed of their fault and apparently grieved at leaving us. We made them no reproach nor any effort to stop them, and after shaking hands we separated. After their departure, we scolded the men who had bartered with them and were the cause of their drunkenness. These Indians have no other fault, but once they have drunk more than is reasonable they want to keep on drinking, and if their drunkenness makes them commit some foolishness, their prideful and independent spirit keeps them from making reparations.

Monday, 31 August *Settlement*. This afternoon, the Topping family came to view the settlement. Butterfield arrived with a waggon loaded with provisions for Mr. Brodhead. Baptiste came back from Fort Schuyler with a worker named Roggers, whom he hired at the rate of 11 dollars per month. He was unable to hire any farmer to cart our things. Worked on clearing.

Mill. Allen, who was unwell, was attacked by fever. Pharoux, in the letter which he gave to the Indians for Baptiste, recommends to him to send us by Mr. Brodhead some hypecacuanha and some rhubarb. Same work of felling and squaring. Found many young plum trees bearing reddish fruit near the camp at the head of the falls. We propose to plant some this autumn both here and at the great fall.

Tuesday, First of September 1795 *Settlement*. Had the dead trees and brush along the river cut up into piles. At 9 in the morning, Mr. Brodhead arrived with his company. He is going to divide that portion of the lots which is to be put on sale this autumn. At eleven, Hobby, the brother of the blacksmith whom Desjardins has hired, arrived from Fort Schuyler, and has brought with him the sow and her young, which we had had to leave behind

in Steuben. The Indians arrived from the Long falls. The younger returned to Oneida; the older has re-enlisted with Mr. Brodhead, who left in the evening.

Mill. Allen a little less sick. Our oxen, which we were worried about, came back on their own in the evening. Trueman, whom we had sent to look for them, came back only after they did, without having encountered them. Same kind of work as yesterday.

Wednesday, 2 September 1795 *Settlement*. Had the oxen brought and the waggon, conducted by Hobby and Warren, start out in order to bring here the forge tools and materials which are at Fort Schuyler. Our injured ox is now in a condition to make the trip. The waggon left at 9. Kept Roggers and the two Canadians busy on the clearing. Baptiste worked on the floor.

Mill. Allen worse, having eaten too soon. Same kind of work as on the previous days. Pharoux made a map of the mill and the surrounding area.

Thursday, 3 September *Settlement*. The workers busy clearing. In the afternoon, during the storm, had the axes ground again. Tool handles were also made. At 11, Mr. Brodhead arrived with his men, one of whom was ill. He left for Butterfield's in the evening.

Mill. As the weather was rainy, we ordered Peck & Robinson to bring into the loghouse the wood necessary for making small kitchen tables, oars, tool handles, etc. As they cared little for such forethought, we had to repeat it to them more than once. Dixon having brought a piece of lumber, made it into a sawhorse. Peck made oars, and the others, tool handles.

Friday, 4 September 1795 *Settlement*. Mr. Guitteau and his company arrived at eleven. At one in the afternoon, he left to join up with Mr. Brodhead at Butterfield's. The workers busy on clearing. Baptiste finished the floor for the study.

Mill. Cut down the woods near the house, cut the felled trees into logs and stacked the wood on the site where the work area will be. After dinner, Dixon and Trueman went to cut and saw oaks, to be used for the machinery. Peck and Robinson opened the road in order to be able to drive the squared pieces from the pine hill to the work area. Allen still sick.

Saturday, 5 September 1795 *Settlement*. The workers busy in continuing the clearing along the boundary lines; Baptiste, in enclosing and arranging the spring at the bottom of the slope of the house. Mr. Brodhead arrived at 4 in the afternoon.

Mill. Cleaned out the site for the work area located near the house, so as to be able to supervise more easily the work. Had some of the squared pieces hauled by the oxen and brought to the new work area. As for Dixon, he worked on machinery parts, and made 4 ox collars.

Sunday, 6 September *Journey*. Having received the funds from M. Olive, I left Albany and, given the heavy rain, stopped to spend the night seven miles from Schenectady.

Settlement. We looked for the sow who, along with her young, has vanished. I took advantage of it being Sunday to send a man to Topping's where, sure enough, she was found, with her family, which she had made swim across the river. Madame Topping promised to take good care of her, and, as a present, sent us some green beans and potatoes.

Mill. Rest for the men. We made an excursion in which we discovered a fine meadow near the mill.

Monday, 7 September 1795 *Journey*. Left Wedder's. Slept 10 miles from Little Falls, in Cawanawhaga.

Settlement. Had trees felled and cut into logs; during the rain, tools sharpened and fitted with handles.

Mill. Peck and Robinson had the squared wood hauled by the oxen. Dixon and Trueman cut and sawed oak for the machinery. Allen is still sick.

Tuesday, 8 September *Journey*. Arrived at noon in Little falls having followed this time the road on the north side of the river. Mr. Porteous had not sent any flour to Fort Schuyler, as he had promised me. I went to the mill where the miller assured me that he would deliver it to me the next day. Made the acquaintance of Mr. Faure, a Frenchman settled in Little falls. We went together to find a driver and have my flour conducted to Fort Schuyler.

Settlement. Rainstorm nearly all day long. Busy at clearing and in making oars and tool handles. The river having risen suddenly, we had some trouble in catching the ferry and the canoes, which were drifting off. Mr. Brodhead left the house at 4, to return to Butterfield's.

Mill. Had them look for the oxen, unsuccessfully. Felled and cut wood behind the house.

Wednesday, 9 September 1795 *Journey*. I took advantage of my forced stay in Little falls to go with M. Faure to visit M. Huerne; we found him on his new farm, going to a great deal of trouble and scarcely advancing his work projects for lack of means. I made him no reproach for the inexecution of his promises. I did ask him for his copy, showing him mine, and we tore them up. M. Huerne escorted us back to Little Falls, where I had to stay at the mill until my 6 barrels were packed full. I had them marked and paid Mr. Porteous. I then found a man who engaged to bring them by canoe to Fort Schuyler. Agreed on a price with him, not being able to find any drivers, as all were being used on the canal, which they hope to finish this autumn.

Settlement. The workers busy clearing. Baptiste sawed and planed some planks to make a small bookcase. Some men of Mr. Brodhead's arrived at 6 in the evening.

Mill. Dixon has made a large sawhorse in order to be able to saw without needing extra help. Felled oaks. Again sought unsuccessfully the oxen. Made a connecting road from last year's path to the new one.

The river has risen greatly.

Thursday, 10 September *Journey*. As soon as it was morning left Little Falls. After six miles, breakfasted at German Flats. Arrived in the evening in Fort Schuyler. Settled with Mr. Kip for the iron and other objects picked up at his place and brought by our waggon. Found M. Tassart at Mr. Bagg's, with a man whom he had hired. M. Olive deferring to his reasons rather than to ours, and informing us that he intended that his emissary enjoy in all its plenitude the right to choose among the 20,000 acres, M. Tassart was waiting for me in order to return, with me, to take advantage of the opportunity of Pharoux's voyage, and to go down to the Lake and view the portion of the 20,000 acres that is located on the bay, and for which he has, without having seen it, declared his preference.

Settlement. Two companies of surveyors arrived at 11. They are coming to survey Watson's lands, which currently belong to Captain Burr.*[27] The surveyors left at 4 to go begin at the nine mile corner of Inman's. The workers busy clearing; Baptiste, in making the bookcase.

Mill. After breakfast, Pharoux left for the great fall with Allen, who was still sick and is returning home. Peck and Robinson are the rowers. Trueman went to look for the oxen, Dixon made some small parts for the mill. Then he began a small sledge in order to transport lumber more easily. Trueman, having brought back the oxen, conducted the parts to the work area.

Friday, 11 September 1795 *Journey*. Our six barrels of flour arrived at noon. I had them dropped off at Mr. Post's store. Used this day, unsuccessfully, to look for a waggon to transport them to Castorland.

Settlement. Pharoux arrived in the large canoe. He paid Allen, who is leaving us due to his illness. The workers busy clearing.

At five in the evening, our waggon arrived with a barrel of pork picked up at Mr. Boon's, the barrel of flour from Steuben, all the forge tools and the iron bought at Mr. Kip's. Pharoux had everything put into order and paid Hobby out of the money which M. Desjardins had left me.

Mill. Had the squared parts hauled to the work area. The carpenter finished the small sledge and then worked on the machinery for the mill.

Saturday, 12 September 1795 *Journey*. Not being able to find a waggon, I left Fort Schuyler with M. Tassart and his man. Saw in passing Messrs. Boon & Mappa. Their flour-mill is finished, and I took down information in order to obtain flour for us this autumn. The flour ought to cost us less and will cost less to transport. In the evening, arrived and slept in Steuben.

Settlement. The two workers who came with M. Pharoux went to Topping's in order to obtain some shoes and bring back beans and potatoes. The others were put to work clearing.

Mill. Dixon made a workbench for the small carpentry work. For his machinery, he sawed oak parts with Trueman.

Sunday, 13 September *Journey*. A violent rain did not allow us to leave Steuben until two in the afternoon, so that we had to spend the night at

Edmond's, 13 miles from Steuben. M. Tassart's man turned out to be Edmond's brother.

Settlement. Heavy rain, which made M. Pharoux decide to stay, inasmuch as he was expecting at any moment the return of M. Desjardins. Arrival of Mr. Brodhead and of his men. Rest for our Canadians. Successful fishing.

Mill. Heavy rain. Rest for our two workers.

Monday, 14 September 1795 *Settlement*. M. Pharoux left at 6 in the morning with the provisions, the forge tools, his two men, the two brothers Hobby and Warren, leaving here the two Canadians and Roggers.

At 11, Desjardins arrived with M. Tassart and a man. The last two are getting ready to leave tomorrow to join Pharoux. Mr. Brodhead is also getting ready to leave, to finish the division of the lots and rejoin from there Pharoux, in order to go to the Lake together.

The men busy at clearing; Baptiste, in repairing the waggon.

In the afternoon, I went to view the work on the clearing, which I found to be little advanced. Not hearing the sound of axes, I advanced into the woods and saw the workers resting and making conversation with M. Tassart. At the reproaches that I made to them for the small amount of work which had been accomplished in my absence, Sabourin asked me for his pay.

In the evening Mr. Brodhead left for Butterfield's.

Mill. Trueman went to get the oxen and brought them back to complete hauling the squared pieces to the work area. The carpenter busy working on the small parts for the mill. The cow not having been found, I myself went to look for her and brought her back from about three miles away. She had come upon a good meadow and did not contemplate returning. At 8 in the evening, M. Pharoux arrived with five men. The waters are very high.

Tuesday, 15 September 1795 *Settlement*. In the morning, gave François Sabourin his pay. Perrot, wishing to follow the fate of his comrade, asked for his and likewise received it, so that I found myself reduced to Roggers only, whom I put to work preparing the garden which will be planted next year.

Baptiste continued to work on the waggon. The two Canadians left at eleven, counting on engaging themselves to Mr. Brodhead, who had offered 14 piastres to Sabourin. M. Tassart left with his man. To him I delivered letters for Pharoux and some provisions. Mr. Brodhead came back in the evening. To facilitate the sale of our lands, I had him write two letters to some persons of his acquaintance. Made with him the final arrangements for surveying lower Castorland and the journey to King'stown. I handed him a letter for Pharoux in which I recounted my journey and the troubles that the conduct of M. Tassart and that of M. Olive would bring us.

Mill. Had logs hauled to construct a forge and to transport the provisions and tools. The forge is nearly entirely raised. Felled some pine trees to saw into planks.

Wednesday, 16 September 1795 *Settlement*. Mr. Brodhead left in the morning with his men and provisions in the large canoe. Roggers and Baptiste sawed planks. At noon, Roggers asked for his pay; I gave him his half-month. He claimed to be sick.

Baptiste found one of our sheep, which had died suddenly from a stroke.

Mill. Heavy rain, which prevented the workers from sawing planks to cover the forge. Peck and Robinson tried in vain to lift sheets of bark. Pharoux and Dixon took advantage of the intervals to mark out the mill canal, which, in order to economize on an excavation that would be too lengthy and too costly, will pass in front of the house. Our men busy at making pegs. Washed, greased and repaired the bellows for the forge. Brought in the saw-horses and other tools in order to put everyone to work under cover. In the evening, wood was felled to make a charcoal-furnace. Cleared the entrance to the planned canal of the large dead trees which the river had dragged there. Pharoux took the level of the upper part of the canal to the lower. Had rafters cut for the covering for the work-shop. At 7 in the evening, M. Tassart arrived, gave us our letters and informed us of the return of my brother at the great fall.

Thursday, 17 September 1795 *Settlement*. In the morning Baptiste went in search of the livestock, in order to be ready to leave for Fort Schuyler upon Warren's return, whom Pharoux had promised to send back, along with the livestock at the mill. In the afternoon, storm and constant rain.

Mill. Large billets of pine wood were hauled by the oxen to be sawed into planks for covering the blacksmith's work-shop. The men busy at cutting wood, some of them for the charcoal furnace, the others toward the canal. Toward nine in the evening, Mr. Brodhead finally arrived, with all of his company in good health.

Tuesday [*sic*], 18 September *Settlement*. Rain and constant storm. Toward two, return of Mr. White, a surveyor, who went to survey in Watson 6000 acres to settle families who have emigrated from Wales. He has found two pretty lakes, which form the source of Independence River. The lands, generally bad; the Welsh families refused them. I proposed to one of their emissaries the area that we are putting up for sale. He told me that he would communicate this to his companions. These people are industrious and very skilled in raising livestock. At 4, arrived Mr. Hammond, another surveyor who was going for the same reason, with another head of the Welsh families. I showed him the map of our lands for sale. He promised me to view them. I also made some proposals to Mr. Hammond for cutting the road from here to Fort Stanwix on contract. I shared with him the fieldbook for this area. I engaged one of Mr. Hammond's men to come back next month to make shingles at the rate of two dollars per thousand. Mr. White, leaving for Steuben, left the canoe on the opposite shore; Hammond's men, wanting to bring it back, untied the ferry; but the waters were so strong that the current

pulled it away without their being able to hold on to it. Baptiste and another man emptied out an old canoe and, jumping inside, managed not without difficulty to help them. By sheer strength the 4 of them managed to bring it up to the ferry, where it was attached. Then, with the old canoe, they also managed to cross the river and to bring back the new one. Mr. Hammond and his men slept in the house, given the continuing bad weather.

Mill. Messrs. Pharoux, Brodhead, Tassart and their men made their preparations for departure; but the bad weather forced them to stay put. Our men sharpened tools and fitted handles. Greased again the forge bellows. Made pegs and sawed planks.

Saturday, 19 September 1795 *Settlement*. The weather cleared. The waters are beginning to go down. They have risen to the point of coming within two feet of our loghouse. The Black River having risen about eighteen feet in two days, the fall, entirely covered by seething water, offers an imposing spectacle. Hammond and his men left at 8 in the morning. Baptiste completed repairs on the waggon. At 5 in the evening, M. de Jean arrived with his son and bearing a letter of recommendation from M. Le Ray de Chaumont. He delivered to me some letters from France, which brought me great satisfaction, my properties preserved and respected, my family and my friends in good health and escaped from the persecutions of the various parties.

Mill. At seven in the morning, Messrs. Pharoux, Brodhead & company left, happy and in perfect health. Pharoux left a letter with me for my brother. Trueman went to look for and brought back the cow, which had strayed for several days. The workers have covered with planks a part of the forge. Had planks of white cedar sawed to complete its covering. Work done on the charcoal furnace, which is to be fired tomorrow. Had squared pieces of timber hauled: this task demanding urgent attention so that the oxen can be sent as soon as possible to the great fall where they are greatly needed for hauling waggons.[28]

Sunday, 20 September M. Dejean explained his situation to me. A wife, five children and no means of support other than good will. I encouraged him and promised him that if he could give us some assurance, the Company would advance some supplies for his family the first year and would give him some livestock with a half-share in any increase. At this, he decided to leave, needing to bring his family here in order to spend the winter.

Mill. The river having risen considerably, I sent the carpenter with some ropes to the camp at the landing, to secure our canoes if necessary. Had the bellows and other things that the rain could damage covered with large pieces of bark. Rain nearly constant.

Monday, 21 September 1795 *Settlement*. The waters found to have gone down by eight feet. I sent Baptiste to search for the livestock, which he could

not find. All the meadows and the low lands are flooded. I wrote my dispatches to give to M. Dejean, who is leaving tomorrow.

Mill. The rain continuing, I had the workbench brought in and the sawhorse, to keep the workers busy under cover. Two workers sawed tree-trunks into small blocks to make pegs. Dixon make a bench. Peck and Robinson split the small blocks and made pegs out of them. The weather clearing, I sent two men to the charcoal-kiln, and I kept the others busy making planks.

At three, I caught sight of some people on the other side of the river: I recognized them as being from Pharoux's company, and I was afraid that there had been some accident. A half-hour later, my fears were confirmed. Messrs. Brodhead & Tassart arrived with one of their men, and informed me that yesterday morning, wanting to cross on a raft to the opposite shore, they were swept into some falls by the violence of the current, where Pharoux and two men perished. The others were helped by M. Tassart and his hired man, who had fortunately refused to embark with them. They lit fires, they combed the area, hoping that they could assist their unfortunate comrades, if they could get to shore. But all searching has been useless. The place chosen to cross was narrow and therefore rapid. The large increase in water level had further increased the current's speed: this prevented them from reaching the bottom with their poles and from being able to support themselves. M. Tassart had gone 2 miles further downriver, where he had found below the falls quiet water, a safe crossing: but Pharoux's zeal had rashly won out over the objections of M. Tassart, and even over the fears of the Indian, who refused to cross with them. The fear of losing time in remaking the raft, and the belief that there was no danger, were the cause of the inestimable loss that we have just experienced. I had appealed to Pharoux to give up this journey, given the lateness of the season and the autumn rains; but the desire to gather at King'stown information on provisions, workers, etc., which we could get from there for next year, and moreover his desire to verify himself the operations on Penet's square and on lower Castorland, brought him to his end. Mr. Brodhead was wounded on the head by a broken piece of the raft when this raft was swallowed up and came apart in the falls. He lost everything: money, instruments, provisions. His men have lost their belongings. It was yesterday morning toward nine-thirty when this unfortunate event took place. Out of seven people who were on the raft, four only were saved. Our friend viewed the danger with firmness. They passed through the first two falls without breaking up. He kept on encouraging them, up until the moment when, thrown into the third, which was more than 15 feet high, their raft broke into pieces, and they disappeared in the whirlpools at the bottom of the fall. Mr. Brodhead is making ready to return to this area with two men, to attempt to find the bodies of the victims of this grievous catastrophe and give the last rites to a friend, the acquisition of whom we daily rejoiced having made, and who in this foreign land was our greatest consolation. M. Tassart leaving

tomorrow will bring my letter and Mr. Brodhead's to my brother, so that, if he should judge it necessary, he might come down with provisions in order to wait for the return of Mr. Brodhead.

Finished covering the workshop with planks, as well as fitting out the gables. The oxen hauled some fire-wood, in front of the forge. A pyre of wood was erected, which was lit and managed so as to have some charcoal, while we waited for that from the furnace. Had the spaces between the logs filled with wood and clay. Had provisions for 15 days cooked for Mr. Brodhead and his men.

Tuesday, 22 September 1795 *Settlement*. M. Dejean left for Albany at 8 in the morning. I gave him three dollars to get him ready for the journey. After his departure, I kept Baptiste and the young Dejean, who has begun an apprenticeship in carpentry, busy making a trap-door to close the loft above our study. They also dressed planks for the large bedroom. Our livestock came back on their own. The cows had become dry because they had gone a long time without being milked.

Mill. M. Tassart left, accompanied by his man, Robinson, Hitt[o],[29] Hobby. One of Mr. Brodhead's hired men, finding himself sick, has rejoined them in order to return to his home. I gave M. Tassart the large canoe, as being the most convenient one for bringing down my brother and the provisions. Baptiste would in this case watch over the settlement at the high fall.[30] The charcoal furnace was lit.

Mr. Brodhead, now without any instruments, cannot continue his operations. After conferring on this, he will not go all the way to the bay and will take provisions for only 10 days, time sufficient for carrying out his searches. If he finds the body of our friend, he will shroud it and cover it with pieces of bark, tied with Moose wood, in order to be able to transport it here on horseback. We will then bear it to the mouth of Independence River, which he had chosen for his own dwelling, and we will raise to him an insufficient monument.[31] While Mr. Brodhead goes on the search for the bodies, with one man, the two others, using hooks and in a canoe, will probe the river's recesses to try to locate either the bodies or the lost items.

The furnace for the blacksmith is being completed, so that he may right away forge the hooks. Mr. Brodhead will have with him Hitto the Indian; Peck and Warren, 2 of our men. Immediately after dinner, two workers helped the blacksmith to forge the hooks. Peck and Trueman went to search for the horse. I had the tent pitched near the charcoal-kiln so that two men might spend the night there and watch over the fire and the damage that the rain might cause. In spite of what Mr. Brodhead had told me, I climbed up several times onto the rocks, imagining that my friend had been able to save himself and gain the landing across from the settlement—but in vain!

Wednesday, 23 September 1795 *Settlement*. Baptiste and the young Dejean repaired the small canoe. The waters continuing to go down and our

provisions being nearly all gone, I decided to have Baptiste leave for Fort Schuyler to get waggons, workers, and to transport our flour and mill irons.

Mill. At 9:30, Mr. Brodhead left with his three men, with their tools and provisions. I furnished them some blankets and whatever else they might need. They did not take all the provisions, as the road that they had marked on their way out is very good, and in four hours a man can make the trip from here to the fatal spot where they tried to cross. Mr. Brodhead, upon his return, will go obtain more men to continue surveying and marking the road from here to King'stown by way of Penet's square. I will lend him Pharoux's compass and a surveyor's chain, if he cannot find his own.

At my return from the landing, where I had brought Mr. Brodhead, I found Dixon busy attaching the ironworker's vice to the workbench; the smith,[32] at his charcoal-kiln; the others in making planks. I had a charcoal bin built near the work-shop, and planks cut to cover it.

Thursday, 24 September *Settlement*. Before Baptiste's departure, I had the little garden spaded and sown for autumn. At 10, there arrived a man named Benjamin Cretendon from Fonda's-Patent, to discuss a business agreement for cutting and working on the road from Castorland to Fort Stanwix, which we had Mr. Brodhead mark out last year. As our surveyor had already spoken to me favorably of this farmer, I made a business agreement with him at the rate of one hundred ten piastres to cut the thirteen and one-half miles, to make the cause-way in the marsh out of logs, & two or three bridges in the places where they were most needed.

At noon, I was surprised to see the large canoe return with 4 men and bringing back M. Tassart, who I thought had left for the Lake. He informed me of the tragic accident which deprived us of our friend and the loss of two men of Mr. Brodhead's, with the consequence that the rest of them, having escaped as if by a miracle, having lost clothes, provisions, instruments, had been forced to return to the long falls, and that the operation had failed. M. Tassart was returning to New York. He delivered to me my brother's letters and Mr. Brodhead's, containing the sad details of this unfortunate event. After the first moments were given over to the pain that such an unexpected bit of news caused me, I spent the evening and part of the night in writing my dispatches to the Company, M. Olive, Albany, my brother and Mr. Brodhead.

Mill. The oxen were used to haul the wood cut for the mill. Trueman drove them. The blacksmith split some ash trees into thin blades to make a basket which is to be used for transporting charcoal. The basket will be placed on the sledge, and the oxen will bring it to the work-shop. I went to view the furnace, which is burning rather well in spite of the contrary weather. The necessary planks for covering the charcoal bin were finished. The Indians are making sugar in the area where the furnace is located. There are many nicked maples, and nearly all the other young trees and smaller wood have

been cut by them for cooking their sugar, so that it will be very easy to establish there a farm, especially as the land there is of good quality and near a fine meadow. I had Dixon and the blacksmith sleep under the tent, to watch over the furnace.

Friday, 25 September 1795 *Settlement*. I sent back in the small canoe the two men to my brother, with my letters for him and Mr. Brodhead. I was giving this latter his directives while waiting for the extra men and a surveyor whom I was having sent for. Baptiste then left for Fort Schuyler with a letter which I gave him for the surveyor White, of Steuben, in order to engage him to come with his company to help us. Finally, M. Tassart left last, with my dispatches for France, New York and Albany. And so I found myself alone with the young Dejean, whom I kept busy making benches for the canoes. Some of Mr. Cockburn's men, who did not want to cross over, brought a letter for Mr. Brodhead.

Mill. The oxen have hauled lumber. I went to view the charcoal-furnace, which is progressing and would be already done, if we had not been forced to use green wood. The blacksmith claims that another 6 to 7 days will be needed.

In the War of Independence the English and the Indians went up the Oswegatchy, made their portage here, and then continued by going up the Black River to surprise Fort Stanwix. On the other side there was a skirmish, led by other Indians, between the Oneidas and the English. Several Oneidas were killed, and the remainder had to fall back to Fort Stanwix. The Indian Hitto showed Pharoux the site where the combat took place on the shores of the Black River.[33]

Had a large sledge made to transport the charcoal in the basket.

Saturday, 26 September 1795 *Settlement*. I kept busy with the young Dejean in making a more convenient descent down to the river and to the spring at the bottom of the slope. The agitation which the news of the loss of my friend made in me, gave me a malaise and a nausea which I tried hard to overcome. I put myself on rice water for my sole food: this simple remedy and exercise gave me some relief.

Mill. Found this morning along the shores of the river a kind of potato natural to the region. Our Yankees told me that it was excellent cooked under ashes. They call it *ground nut* (*noix de terre*). They do indeed have, more or less, such a shape and size, and are attached one to another by filaments which form a string of beads, like a rosary. I could detect in them only a rather faint taste of turnip. At four in the evening, Robinson and Hobby came back with the small canoe and delivered to me letters from my brother, who notes to me that he has sent for provisions. He asks me the state of the work projects so as to be able to judge whether one ought to continue or put off the work on the mill until next year. The smith worked on his basket and on rakes for the charcoal. Dixon, assisted by Hobby, finished the large sledge. Trueman had logs brought by the oxen. Robinson sawed the logs.

At eight in the evening Warren came back, bearing a letter from Mr. Brodhead, who has made a canoe and still not recovered anything, and asks me for more provisions.

Sunday, 27 September 1795 *Settlement*. Constant rain. The river beginning to rise again. I continued my diet and found myself very weak.

Mill. Yesterday evening, Warren, upon his return from Mr. Brodhead's camp, found at the landing across from ours only the rope which had been holding the canoe, which has likely been swept away by the rising water. Fortunately, Robinson and our smith, who were on their way to the tent to sleep, heard Warren's voice, whom they went to get by canoe.

The constant rain prevented today the bearer of provisions to leave: this bad weather frustrates all of our operations.

Monday, 28 September 1795 *Settlement*. Still bad weather. I felt better, but the solitude in which I find myself is not such as to dissipate the sadness of my thoughts.

Mill. After breakfast I sent Hobby and Robinson to bring Mr. Brodhead some provisions, as well as the letter from my brother, and mine. I asked him to give back Peck, who will be more useful here as carpenter. The canoe was not found. The basket for the coal has been finished. Trueman brought the oxen back only at 9: he did not find the cow. Searching for the livestock makes us lose precious time. A well-trained dog would save us much time. The smith, having brought a basket of coal, has placed in the fire the two picks in order to forge them properly. The carpenter has uprooted several stumps at the site for the mill; he then helped the smith. I told the 1st carpenter to keep busy rather in working on his gear-wheels and lantern pinions than in doing the work of a laborer. As he answered me that all of his wood was not on site nor dry, I gave Trueman an order to bring them right away. Dixon is a rather good worker and honest; but he is not able to make himself obeyed, in spite of the fact that we have given him authority over the other hired men. His drunkenness is the reason that they do not respect it as they ought. While waiting, I had him fell some tree trunks on the site for the mill towards the canal. The oxen have finished pulling them out. Warren cut fire-wood, which Trueman had dragged to a spot in front of the house. The blacksmith has made a trough for quenching; he has forged some small parts to secure his bellows; finally, he has repaired his hearth and tuyere.[34]

Tuesday, 29 September 1795 *Settlement*. Heavy rain. I felt a little less weak and continued writing up the journal.

Mill. Put the men to work under cover, given the bad weather. Had the planks raised and paving done with stones to enlarge the hearth and prevent the danger from fire, as this winter the Indians will certainly come to lodge here during their hunts. I inspected the charcoal-furnace. We hope that it will be ready tomorrow. Peck and Hitto came back at three-thirty, without a

letter from Mr. Brodhead. They tell me that he is returning tomorrow. On his way back, Peck caught sight of our old large canoe in the rapids near the shore and thinks that we will be able to get it out when the waters go down. Had wood for our heating cut on the site for the road, in order to accomplish two goals. The carpenters have squared for their gear-wheels some pieces of white oak of excellent quality. The forge has been completed.

Wednesday, 30 7ber. 1795 The weather cleared. The river still rising, I kept myself busy by repairing the old net and working on the landing.

Mill. We had our first white frost. Mr. Brodhead came back and complained to me about Peck, who had refused to go all the way to the bay. He was able to find none of his belongings. He informed me that in addition to that, he had lost more than two hundred sixty piastres in cash. I was expecting this claim: for this I sent him to my brother, who would certainly exert himself with the Company in his favor. Wood was felled and 2 more parts squared for the mill. The smith worked at his forge. Using the oxen, Trueman has cleared away the remainder of the burned logs, which were blocking the canal site and has thrown them into the river. We worked at pulling out the stumps along the course of the canal.

Thursday, First of October 1795 *Settlement*. I kept busy on the journal, and the weather having become good, I stretched out the nets, and worked with the young Dejean on the causeway for the landing. The increase in water level this time was 9 feet.

Mill. Wrote up my dispatches for my brother. I gave them to Mr. Brodhead, who is returning to the great fall. At 9, this surveyor embarked in a small canoe with the Indian Hitto. Had the planks of white oak for the mill-wheel brought in: they were placed on the joists so that they would dry more quickly, likewise the pegs, which I had the men arrange there. Our large canoe of last year is completely lost. The Indian and Hobby went to get it back, but this recent rise in the waters had carried it away over the falls. The workers were put to work pulling out stumps along the canal's alignment. The oxen, which Trueman did not bring back until 11, have cleared the woods, and we then used them to pull out stumps, which has greatly advanced the work. The smith has made a large crowbar to assist in separating the rocks. Had all the wood shavings and leftover wood pieces gathered in the evening into piles along the canal line. Lit large fires to make the rock split.

Friday, 2 October 1795 *Settlement*. Same kind of work. Mr. Brodhead arrived in the evening. I had quite a bit of difficulty in raising his broken spirits. I was obliged to console, to revive, while recalling inwardly all the obstacles, delays and misfortunes which we had endured in each one of our undertakings, I considered our company as being destined never to succeed. We spoke a great deal about our affliction. I gave Mr. Brodhead ten dollars to re-equip himself with what he needed most: he did not want to take more.

We agreed that we should not count on Mr. White, since he had not answered me. Mr. Brodhead will see about obtaining men in order to complete, this autumn at least, lower Castorland and the road to King'stown.

Mill. In the most elevated section of the terrain marked for the canal there is found fortunately much clay and sand: this accelerates our digging. Rocks found to be mixed with these were easily removed. I had the flat, large stones set aside: they will be used for next year's constructions. The carpenters have split and squared other pieces of white oak and planks of the same wood. Made a mallet of heart of oak, which the blacksmith ringed with 2 bands. In the afternoon, the blacksmith and his brother went to transport charcoal and re-covered the furnace. They then assisted the other men in transporting earth from the dig between the rocks along the river in order to make a plat-form in front of the mill and provide increased security against the ice. Completed the road from the house to the furnace. This road will make a convenient path afterwards for bringing cut wood. I had the Indian hut built next to the furnace preserved, in order to give our Indian brothers an example of the respect due one's property.

Saturday, 3 October 1795 *Settlement*. At 8 Mr. Brodhead left for Fort Schuyler, to obtain men, supplies, and to bring proceedings against the surveyor Guitteau: he is refusing to continue the survey of upper Castorland under the pretense that there is no water and that the iron there is so abundant that the compass cannot be used. Another delay in our operations, and which falls squarely on us, as the accident which befell Mr. Brodhead shelters him from the recourse which we had on him in case of inexecution of his business agreement. In the evening Baptiste finally arrived after a trip of nine days: he was unable to obtain any workers or waggons. The roads are very bad. Baptiste almost perished with his horse at Topping's creek. They were knocked over and thrown to the bottom of the creek by a tree pushed along by the swiftness of the water. In this fall, he lost 5 piastres of the money which I had given him. Fortunately, he recovered not without difficulty his pack, which held his portfolio and was disappearing with the current. Three days later, he was attacked in the woods by two drunken Indians who drew their knives on him and asked him for something to drink. He escaped from their hands by using his spurs, which made the horse run off in spite of their efforts to hold him back. Several men have promised; others engaged themselves even: but they then refused to go. The waggoners likewise refused, and seeing us in a predicament, one of them asked for thirty piastres, more than thirteen *livres* per league. There was therefore no other choice except to return to try to make a trip with our oxen, in spite of the bad weather. We had no more flour at the settlement; consequently, not a moment to lose. Baptiste therefore returned, sick from the consequences of his falling into the water and from the multitude of set-backs experienced from the unworthy inhabitants of this country who, knowing no other feeling than

that of a mean greediness whenever they see you in need of their work, would like to take your last shilling and would leave you to perish without pity if you were to refuse to give them what they demand. While returning, Baptiste hired at Topping's a man to be a waggoner at the rate of one dollar per day.

Mill. Worked on digging the canal. The blacksmith forged a small hoe. Lacking a wheelbarrow, the carpenters made a stretcher to remove the earth excavated. In order to defend the canal's flank, I had sandy clay conveyed from the dig between the two large rocks toward the river. When all the earth and sand are removed, we will be able to see and judge accurately the quantity of rock to be exploded. As the strata are inclined, they will yield all the more readily to the instruments. I had crowbars and iron wedges forged.

Sunday, 4 October 1795 *Settlement*. It began to rain again, as soon as it was day. We looked for our oxen who over the course of the month they haven't been working, due to the lack of suitable work, have become wild.[35] From 6 in the morning until 11 we were busy catching them, making them cross the river and putting them under the yoke. We sent the waggoner on ahead to Topping's. Still unwell, Baptiste waited for Ferlent's arrival: he was to return on horseback from Steuben that same evening; and so in order to take the horse at the same time he delayed his leaving until the next day. Our sow, who had abandoned her young for 3 days, was found by Baptiste at Topping's.

Mill. Rest for our men. Constant rain. Our last barrel of flour has lasted 13 days. The consumption was 1¾ pounds per person, as we are sparing of the meat, with which we are less supplied.

Monday, 5 October 1795 *Settlement*. Very heavy rain. Baptiste and the young Dejean have repaired the oven. Ferlent arrived towards noon and delivered to me some letters from M. Olive and from Albany. His trip cured him of the stone which was tormenting him, but he does not appear in any better health for it. The constant rain prevented Baptiste from leaving, although he feels a little better: but Ferlent told him that the waggon had remained at Topping's because of the bad weather.

Mill. Put the men to work under cover, given the heavy rain. The smith & his brother made some chisels to pierce and sap the rock. The two carpenters made teeth for gear-wheels. Robinson and Warren are making pegs. The new barrel contains spoiled flour and even smells moldy: it is a solid mass, and we had to pierce holes in it with the large drill in order to be able to divide it up. The surface of the barrels down to a depth of 3 or 4 inches is of fine quality while that beneath is very poor. On complaints being made to him, Mr. Porteous, who sells us these, claims that he is the first to be deceived by his millers. But the deception does him no harm and comes entirely at our expense. In the afternoon, we cut some wood for the carpenter, who began the pivots for the lantern pinion.

Tuesday, 6 October 1795 *Settlement*. Rain all morning long. In the afternoon, Baptiste left, bringing back Ferlent's horse. In the evening, Charles Dougherty arrived to make a business agreement and deliver *shingles* (*aissis pour couvrir les bâtiments*). Used Ferlent and the young Dejean to make planks. The white cow came back, without the red one.

Mill. Brought in the newly squared pieces and set them up to dry on the joists. Made teeth for gear-wheels, etc. The bad weather hinders and delays all of our operations. The workers, crammed into the loghouse, cannot work as freely as if we had a large shed. This is what made us decide to build one at the great fall for next year. Same work as yesterday.

Wednesday, 7 October 1795 *Settlement*. Made a bargain with Dougherty for 60 thousand shingles, at the rate of 2 piastres per thousand; 40 bushels of oats at 3 shillings the bushel; 20 bushels of maize at 5 shillings; fourteen hens, eight geese, and eight ducks at the rate of two shillings each on average: all of it to be brought here before the 15th of next January. Kept Ferlent and the young Dejean busy with the same kind of work as yesterday.

Mill. Peck and Robinson have pulled out stumps and stones in the section marked out for the canal. Trueman felled and stripped the trees at the edge of the river, at the entrance to the canal. As the water is high, I took advantage of it to clear off this area more easily. Dixon and Warren have squared some white oak. Hobby and his brother worked at the forge on making and repairing tools.

Thursday, 8 October *Settlement*. Busy working on the journal. Worked on the surface for the road to the landing.

Mill. Dug the opening of the canal in the river. Had the stones and earth thrown left and right to build up the sides. The blacksmith forged two mattocks and a hoe. Dixon worked on his gear-wheel.

Friday, 9 October 1795 *Settlement*. Wrote up the journal. Worked with the young Dejean on the landing.

Mill. Trueman, Peck and Robinson, whom I sent to look for the livestock, as the weather finally was good enough to let us work, came back only at noon without having met up with them. The blacksmith forged some drill-like tools for piercing the rock. I tried one out. In four hours time, two men could succeed only in making a hole one foot in depth. The rock is harder to bore through perpendicularly, because the strata being inclined, one is going against the grain of the stone. In the afternoon, this mine was filled with powder to split the rock: it misfired. I then sent Warren and the blacksmith to look for the oxen. These last rains have done much harm to our charcoal, as the weather did not permit us to bring it in. Dixon and Hobby have pierced more mines. The stone lends itself rather well to the chisel-shaped drill. Trueman, Peck and Robinson are digging the entrance to the canal.

Hobby the elder and Warren came back in the evening without the livestock. They brought back for me a bird, larger than a domestic goose, having the feet of a goose, a long beak without teeth and hooked at the end. The lower part of the beak is a kind of saffron yellow. The wings have a span of four feet. The feathers blackish gray. Above the eyes, a small stripe of bright yellow makes a kind of eyebrow. They call this bird *Cormay*. Oily fat. Blackish flesh. Its liver, large as a goose's, is without bile. This bird is excellent roasted.

Opened up our last barrel of flour, a little less bad than the previous one.

Saturday, 10 October 1795 *Settlement*. The rains are beginning anew. Same work. In the evening, I went to hang out the net. Our sheep disappeared, except for one.

Mill. Dixon and Peck went to cut some beautiful white oak trees which will make very wide planks. Warren and Hobby having found the oxen, I had the charcoal brought. Mines were dug: they were loaded, but with very little success overall. Two men continued to dig the canal, which is not advancing for lack of men. I am losing hope that we can finish it this year. I had building wood brought: this was squared on the site by the 2 carpenters.

At 6 in the evening, we had the visit of an Indian from Oswegatchee, accompanied with his two children. He had left 3 days earlier. He is going to set himself up to hunt on Boylstone's side. As he is leaving tomorrow, I will give him a letter for my brother. This Indian understands French a little.

Sunday, 11 October *Settlement*. Heavy rain. In the net, nothing.

Mill. Rest for our men. In the morning, I had the spectacle of an Indian hunt and the maneuvering of their bark canoes in which they go up the rapids with an astonishing ease. The Indian and his oldest son killed two deer on the little island in front of our house. Of four deer which we had caught sight of struggling against the rapids which were sweeping them into the fall, the two others escaped from islet to islet. The Indian, out of gratitude for our good reception, made us a present of half of a deer, and left after breakfast.

Monday, 12 October *Settlement*. Still raining. We caught in the net a cat fish weighing four pounds. This fish is called the *mal* in the icthyology of the new *Encyclopédie*.[36]

Mill. Finding myself short of provisions and not receiving any news from my brother, I decided to send him three of my men in order to diminish the number of mouths to be fed and to bring back provisions in case we stay here; or two canoes, if he orders us to go back upriver; they left at 2. Had the charcoal carted. Dixon and Peck felled and squared some wood. Our charcoal provision will not be sufficient for next year. Killed two snakes striped yellow and black, their belly white. These reptiles are not dangerous.

Observed a beetle, bronzed, green-black. It was carrying under its belly a swarm of little ones as large as turnip seeds and of a yellow color, resembling spiders with long legs.

Tuesday, 13 October 1795 *Settlement*. Mr. Brodhead arrived in the evening with Mr. Mitchell, another surveyor. He informed me that Mr. Young, a surveyor sent to Penet's square and who was then supposed to finish lower Castorland, remained in King'stown, sick, as did his men; that his brother died from the same sickness (dysentery), and that he had run only two lines. And so we are blocked on all sides.

Mr. Brodhead did not find Mr. Guitteau, who had left to work elsewhere. He is trying to hire Mr. Mitchell, who finds himself, like him, without men. I obtain from Mr. Mitchell some details on Louisiana and the Missouri, where he has traveled.

Mill. The livestock were able to be brought back only at ten. I had the charcoal continued to be brought in; finally, we succeeded in putting it under cover before the rain. Dixon and Peck then squared wood. I had wood cut for heating.

Wednesday, 14 October 1795 *Settlement*. In the morning, Messrs. Brodhead and Mitchell left without having been able to conclude an agreement. At one, our waggon, gone for 11 days, finally arrived with only 3 barrels of flour, as the roads were bad. One of our young oxen is so injured in the neck that he is incapable of being used again for the rest of the campaign. These three barrels, besides the time used to get them, amount to more than 15 piastres in cost from Fort Schuyler here: but we had no more loaves of bread and no meat. As it is impossible to find now any fat pork to buy, and that in the stores is bad, I had one of our pigs killed.

At 3, the small canoe, steered by 3 men, came back from the long falls. According to my brother's letter, plan, and work report that he sent me, and seeing that there were 19,324 cubic feet of rock and earth to be removed in order to make the canal, I realized that it was impossible that our small number of American workers execute such a project this campaign. I therefore decided to have everything brought back up here so that, once we were together, we might take advantage of the little time remaining to us to construct a second loghouse, a stable for our livestock, and to fence a little bit of terrain in order to be able to sow early next year.

Mill. Given the rain, I kept our men busy making pegs, wheel teeth, handles for axes, &c. The smith made some hammers.

Thursday, 15 October *Settlement*. As the rain was continuing violently and the pork unable to be prepared before noon, I put off the departure of our men until the next day to allow them to avoid spending the night on the road, on the condition that they would leave at daybreak. I had them make a provision of fire-wood.

Mill. The 2 carpenters cut and squared some wood for medium-sized pieces and jambs. The blacksmith worked on the forge with Trueman. Storm, which uprooted several trees. I had one taken down which could have crushed the house by its fall.

Friday, 16 October 1795 *Settlement*. Our men left at 6 in the morning with such provisions as I was able to send with them. At noon, Mr. Green from New York arrived with three men. He was going to explore some lands that are being proposed to him in Watson and Angerstine.[37] At one, Messrs. Brodhead and Mitchell returned. This latter left right away to trace out the road from here to Castorville, and from there to the long falls, from which point he will go to continue his work projects in Boylston.[38] This will be at least one necessary operation completed for us. From there, he is supposed to go join up with Mr. Brodhead at Penet's square, to assist him in completing lower Castorland. The rain prevents Mr. Green and his men from continuing their journey. Worked with Mr. Brodhead.

Mill. The storm continues. I had more trees, the closest ones to us, cut down. The blacksmith forged some axes. I then sent some men out to get the oxen. I was worried about the return of our men, when I saw them arrive at 4 with flour and half a pig. They took only ten hours to get from the great fall here, while they had taken two days to go up the 45 miles. They gave me the letter from my brother.

Observed flocks of small birds: back and top of wings blue; the throat, light brown, and the belly white. They come from the North, and are harbingers of the cold that they are fleeing. They are the size of sparrows.

Saturday, 17 October 1795 *Settlement*. As the bad weather continued, I engaged Mr. Green to stay and send his men to examine the lands. He accepted my offer with gratitude. Mr. Green is very learned, has traveled in the 4 parts of the world and speaks French rather well. I worked with Mr. Brodhead on the directive for the surveying. Decided that he would go by way of Oswego; would pick up at the mouth of Sandy Creek on Lake Ontario, the provisions which Mr. Mitchell told him have been placed there under the guard of two men, with whom he would proceed from there to King'stown to find out about Mr. Young's condition; there, obtain a reinforcement of men and provisions to finish Penet's square; and return while marking the road from King'stown to the Black River; from there, go on down to the Lake to complete with Mr. Mitchell the surveying of lower Castorland. If he could not manage all of these operations, he was to limit himself to plotting the bay by canoe, to choosing the site for the city, to making exact soundings of the entrance to the river, and to return while marking the road. In this way, we will at least have some essential points and the roads traced out this autumn. But these operations are subject to many circumstances on which success will depend, and above all Mr. Brodhead lacks men, who at this time are as few as they are expensive.

Mill. The river is higher than it has ever yet been; it is beginning to enter our canal a little. As my brother directed me to store all the wood before coming to join him with our men and livestock, I had them look for the oxen in order to haul the parts and assist in piling them up. The wood will be dry

and better for use next year. I had the parts secured. The rain having come, we made oars, tool handles. The smith repaired the axes and forged two parts to be applied to our large canoe and reinforce its two ends. I had stumps pulled out around the work area so that the parts could be moved more easily. It snowed in the evening.

Sunday, 18 October 1795 *Settlement*. Mr. Brodhead left in the morning. It is still snowing. In the evening, four hunters from White'stown arrived, who asked us for shelter for the night; they had great need of this, as it snowed and the weather was very bad.

Mill. The river, still rising, is filling the upper part of our canal. Last night, we had a very bright aurora borealis. This morning, there were two inches of snow and ice on the ground. Our men are afraid of bad weather. That engaged them to go more willingly to search for the livestock. I sent some by land, others went upriver by canoe. We cannot locate the oxen. Our workers brought back a branch of a thorn-bush with red fruit large as fine cherries and very good to eat. The thorns of this bush are very long: it would make an excellent hedge. Its flower is very attractive.

Monday, 19 October 1795 *Settlement*. The hunters left as soon as it was morning. Snowing still and frost. Flocks of small white birds, called snow-birds, portend winter for us. In the afternoon a man of Mr. Brodhead's came to inform me of his departure for Fort Stanwix and to ask me for one of our batteaux at Fort Schuyler, left under the guard of Mr. Kip. I gave him a letter to this effect.

In the evening Dougherty arrived with two men to make shingles.

Mill. Sent our men to look for the livestock; they could not find them; and given the lack of provisions, I sent 5 men in the large canoe, with a letter for my brother, enclosing an inventory of the items which I sent with them. I am requesting that Baptiste bring the dog to help us find the track of our live-stock which the river's floodings have likely made withdraw into the interior. I recommended to the boatmen to stay close to our shore, so as to be able to hear the bells in case our oxen have gained on us while going up. In case of an encounter, one of our men would get off on land and bring us back the livestock. The bad weather, and all the low lands flooded, have prevented us from meeting up with the livestock. These hindrances are delaying our departure, which my brother thought would be sooner, and in consequence of which he had sent us the supplies necessary for a prompt return. I had some plum-tree plants embarked for the nursery at the great fall. Dixon worked on the mill wheel. Trueman cut wood into lumber. I went to the other side searching for the oxen, and found neither them nor the horse.

Tuesday, 20 October 1795 *Settlement*. Weather milder. The snow has disappeared. The waters are going down. Dougherty and his men set up their workshop on the mountain.

Mill. Dixon made teeth for the gear-wheel. Truman cleared brush along the little canal which will bring the spring here. I had him give this ditch a suitable slope so that, when the snow melts, the standing water within cannot reach the charcoal bin, at the foot of which the natural channel passes. I then had brush cleared from between the house and the mill canal. Today makes the seventh that we have not seen the livestock. In the afternoon, the carpenter and Trueman felled some white oaks and squared some parts for the channel for the mill.

Wednesday, 21 October *Settlement*. The purchasers of a Township in Boylston, across from our settlement, came to ask me if they could spend the night. My brother is sending the first load in the large canoe conducted by five men, having no more provisions and unable to find the livestock in time. Mr. Green's surveyor came back in the evening with his company, so that we found ourselves to be 26 people sleeping in our loghouse. In order to send provisions to our people, I had to have a sheep killed with a rifle shot as these animals have become too wild to allow anyone to approach them. I intended half of it for the camp at the mill, the other for here, unable to get any pork, until the waggon goes to Fort Schuyler. Settled with Warren, who did not want to hire on for another month.

Mill. Our workers have felled and squared white oaks. The weather seems to be turning fine again. One of our oxen arrived, alone, at nine in the evening.

Thursday, 22 October 1795 *Settlement*. I had the 4 remaining men, Baptiste, and the young Dejean leave in both the large and small canoes, so they could bring back the belongings in a single trip. The purchasers of the Township took advantage of this opportunity to go down the river and view more easily their lands. Mr. Green then left with his company, after having engaged me to go visit him in New York. I therefore found myself alone with the Canadian family. I kept Ferlent busy making planks. In the evening, there arrived the surveyor charged with surveying the Township across from us, whose new owner is Mr. Scheller from Middleton, in Connecticut.[39]

Mill. As the arrival of yesterday's ox made me hope that the others were not far away, I sent Trueman out to look for them: at 8 in the morning he brought back the horse that I had had attached to the shop of the smith. I gave the horse a bit of the maize which remains to me. The calf came back without the cow. I again had Trueman go in search of her, with an order to bring back in the evening a load of hay. At 5, Mr. Mitchell arrived bearing a letter from Mr. Brodhead. Baptiste showed up a moment later, with our men.

Friday, 23 October 1795 *Settlement*. Toward 11, arrived with 4 Canadians Major Ford, from Moristown, New Jersey, one of the owners of the 4 townships on the Oswegatchee.[40] The major is returning from a trip to examine

these lands and their navigable waterways.[41] He went by way of Oswego, King'stown and the St. Lawrence River; then he went up the Oswegatchee, the Long Lake, which is twenty miles long by three in width. He left his bark canoe in the Oswegatchee 8 miles from the bend in the Black River. From the St. Lawrence River all the way to this spot, there are five portages around waterfalls in the Oswegatchee, one of which is one hundred feet. A little after the exit from Black Lake, a large branch coming from the SE makes a junction. There is a likelihood that it is this same branch which comes close to Beaver River, while Black Lake and the SW branch have brought Mr. Ford to the Black River. He showed me the fieldbook of the route that he had taken, his intention being to supervise a road from Fort Stanwix to the mouth of the Oswegatchee. I shared with him the map that we had made for the road to King'stown, and showed him that the only road he could choose was the one that we were having cut from here to Fort Stanwix, which road we would continue next year up to Castorville; from which point, by following the same direction N, if he wanted to continue it, it would arrive right at the mouth of the Oswegatchee.

I invited him to share our poor dinner, which yet appeared very good to someone who had been living for fifteen days in the woods. The major left in the afternoon with his servant for Fort Stanwix. His men made a raft to go back down to the long falls and from there, return to Oswegatchee, where they are settled, there being an English city (Elisabethtown) across from them. In spite of our want, I gave them some bread, because they did not have enough to go all the way back home.

Mill. Right after breakfast, I had all of our men go searching for the livestock. We had stored in the forge all the small squared parts in order to preserve them better.

Mr. Mitchell told me that our road was twenty miles from the great fall to Castorville, and fifteen miles from Castorville to here. There are only three creeks, over which we will have to throw bridges. It will also be necessary to make two causeways through two rather large marshes. The site designated by my brother for Castorville is very advantageous: the falls excellent for the mills; furthermore, there are springs of very good water. The men have found three oxen and the cow. The fourth ox was brought back only in the evening. Dixon found some tracks of the calf: given our small amount of provisions, we will have to leave it behind if it is not found between now and tomorrow morning. I fortunately detected by the sound of its bells that the horse had got loose and was leaving. It was retaken and secured.

Saturday, 24 October 1795 *Settlement*. The weather is again good. Kept Ferlent busy sawing planks. Wrote up the journal.

Mill. Mr. Mitchell and his company left this morning. Had the men again search for the calf, unsuccessfully, while the belongings were being transported and loaded into the canoes. Finally, we embarked the rest, and left at

eleven. Stopped for dinner at Deer Creek, where we found the camp of the Indian from Oswegatchee. The children relit their fire to warm us. Their father was off hunting and had up until now caught nothing. I gave them some bread and engaged them to tell their father to look for our lost calf, assuring them, that if he were to bring it back to us, we would pay him very well for his trouble. At three, we encountered a raft on which three Anglo-Canadians were going downriver to return to Oswegatchee, and who were coming from our settlement. At 7:30 in the evening we camped 14 or 15 miles from the long falls. Our livestock, led by two men, followed along the shore.

Sunday, 25 October 1795 *Settlement*. Good weather. I went to see Dougherty in his hut. I pointed out to him that he was making his shingles as narrow and as short as possible, given that his agreement was by the thousand; but I assured him that I would not take them if they were not normal size. Upon seeing that I knew the customs of the country, he promised me to do better.

Mill. Left at 8 after breakfast. Killed a duck very opportunely, as we had no more meat. I had my men breakfast on a little chocolate which was left to me, mixed with a lot of water.

Yesterday, Trueman and Hobby led the livestock. Today, I gave this responsibility to Peck and Robinson. Our rowers did not maneuver well today. We made only 16 miles over the whole day and camped on Boylston's side because of the livestock. At 6 in the evening, Bingham and Lord, two of our neighbors settled in Inman, drawn by the sound of the bells and then by our fire, came to join us.[42] They had gone to bring supplies to the surveyors of Boylston's. Bingham and Lord asked to go back upriver with us, and I accepted these reinforcements with pleasure.

Monday, 26 October 1795 *Mill*. As the night had been very cold, our people were awake early morning. Peck, Robinson and Trueman were put in charge of the livestock. We finally arrived at the settlement at three.

Settlement. At one in the afternoon Topping arrived. I concluded a business agreement with him for him to bring me three bushels of potatoes, two of maize and some turnips. I saw surveyors busy dividing into lots that part of Boylston's which faces us. At two, our livestock arrived in good condition, conducted by 3 of our men, who told me that they had never been able to find the calf. At three-thirty my brother arrived with the two batteaux and the rest of our belongings. Trueman and his wife wishing to take advantage of the opportunity of Topping being here to leave, I paid them. The afternoon was spent unloading and storing the belongings.

Tuesday, 27 October 1795 Trueman left this morning to get a waggon at Topping's in order to carry his wife and belongings. He took advantage of the one in which Toppping is supposed to send us the maize, turnips and potatoes

on which we agreed. Used our workers to cut trees on the slope to make joists and rafters, so that the carpenters have something to square while waiting for the return of two men whom we will send tomorrow to Fort Schuyler for provisions with the waggon, which is being repaired. Had a small pig and a sheep killed. Butterfield arrived at one and informed us that on Sunday last, Mr. Brodhead was still at Fort Schuyler, from where he was preparing to leave with M. Tassart, whom M. Olive was sending to Penet's square. Had the oxen sought for in vain. Visited Dougherty's workshop. His men are working much better now. The pine that they use is very good. Robinson, having given himself an axe blow on the bone of his leg, is unable to work. Our carpenters have begun to square.

Wednesday, 28 October 1795 Unable to find our oxen yesterday, and the people whom we wanted to send with the waggon talking of not returning, something which we believe them quite capable of, I decided to send Baptiste to Albany to carry our letters and bring us the five hundred piastres which I asked of M. Olive for the 1st of November: this will be used to pay our expenses for the season and to give advances against this winter's business agreements. We have enough flour, and by killing a cow and some young pigs, we will be able to dispense with having to bring in salted meat, which is expensive and poor; and moreover, we will use all our men here, as both work and weather are pressing.

Baptiste left at 8 in the morning, bearing our letters for Albany, New York and France. I took advantage of this opportunity to send the young Dejean back to his father. Had men look for the oxen. They were found and conducted to the mowed meadow, where the grass has regrown very well and where they will have good grazing. Paid Robinson, who asked for his pay. Had parts, felled and squared on the mountain, brought down.

Thursday, 29 8ber 1795 Paid this morning the two Hobby brothers, who asked for their pay. There is desertion all around. The fear of winter and that of lacking provisions is chasing them away: moreover, they feel rich and are happy to go spend it at Fort Schuyler. We are using however the most gentle means to keep them. One of the Hobbys promised us to stay until 1st December, and Robinson told us that if we wanted to keep him until his wound allowed him to take up work again, he would also stay. I had this evening the oxen enclosed inside the yard so that they can be used tomorrow to haul logs. Sent men to get some fodder for them at the meadow. Had the fat cow killed and salted, which gave us two barrels of meat. Our men cut and squared.

Friday, 30 October 1795 Had our people breakfast at 6 in the morning, the days being less long and this furnishing us a means to get them up early. We had the logs hauled by the oxen, to raise the cowshed which will be 28 feet long and 24 wide. At one-thirty, Topping came with a small waggon loaded with the potatoes and provisions that he had promised us. He took

Trueman's wife and her belongings. We placed today four rows of logs for the cowshed. The carpenters kept busy making a sledge to carry hay from the meadow and bring the shingles from the mountain. In order to spare our flour, I had soup made with rice and turnips: our Americans have got used to it and now eat it like Frenchmen.

Saturday, 31 October 1795 The rain and storm did not allow our men to work outside. I kept them busy making pegs, benches and saddles.

Sunday First November Rest for our men. I had the oxen enclosed in order to be able to use them tomorrow. Fodder was brought to them. In the evening a man arrived, saying that he was coming to look for work.

Monday, 2 November 1795 The man who came yesterday evening on the pretense of getting hired, left after getting a good supper, spending the night warmly and even breakfasting well. Our workers found this trick to be funny: it is certainly very much in the American style.

At two, Cretendon, charged with cutting the road from here to Fort Stanwix, arrived and, following Mr. Brodhead's certificate, I paid him the 24 piastres as an advance. As Cretendon had cut his toe while working, he asked us if he could spend the night, it being too late to get back to his house, which is 23 miles from here.

The work of raising the logs for the stable was completed, and several joists were set. I had the oxen enclosed in the stable.

Tuesday, 3 November I traced out with the carpenter the location of the Canadian loghouse and leveled the terrain in order to seat the first logs. Cretendon left. My brother went to look for M. Tassart's canoe. This canoe had been carried away this night: my brother found it a mile from here. Logs were brought for the Canadians' house. The work of raising the joists for the stable was completed, likewise that of placing the rafters. Paid 40 piastres to Dougherty as an advance on the shingles which he has made. Peck went to Topping's to buy shoes.

Wednesday, 4 November 1795 Peck came back with Trueman, who was conducting the small waggon loaded with potatoes, turnips and maize, for which I paid Trueman. Laid the four large foundation logs for the Canadian loghouse and verified the level. This loghouse will be 20 feet long and 30 wide, which will make for one room at 20 feet and two studies 10 feet square. Cut, squared and brought the joists for the floor. Had the waggon brought over to this side and the ferry cleaned.

Thursday, 5 November 1795 Had logs brought, the joists set and then four rows of logs raised. As these logs are very heavy, we had, my brother and I, to lend a hand to raise them, having only four workers. We worked well, and if the good weather continues, we hope that everything will be up by next Saturday.

Friday, 6 inst Three rows of logs which were brought were raised, as well as the joists for the roof and the purlin. The work went well.

Saturday, 7 November Our workers, to whom we had promised a bottle of wine if they should finish the frame today, worked so hard that the loghouse was finished being raised, and the rafters placed and fastened at five-thirty. Consequently, we gave them, besides the wine, some grog which we had not promised them. The oxen were enclosed in the stable in order to be ready Monday to cart the stones for the chimney. Ferlent, still convalescent, was put to work this week squaring planks. In addition, he made a ladder for the loft and 2 small beds.

Sunday, 8 November Rest for our men. Fog and almost constant rain.

Monday, 9 November The rain continuing, we had to have our men work under cover. I had them make blocks, seats and benches for the new loghouse. The carpenters cut out with the saw some parts for a sledge, and made a rudder.

Tuesday, 10 November The sledge was finished, which, by using the oxen, helped us bring bundles of shingles for the covering. I had a road cut to this effect. Made with Dougherty a bargain to saw 600 boards for the covering and 1000 feet of plank for the loghouse. Dixon smoothed shingles with the fixed plane. Ferlent filled the spaces between the logs with pieces of wood.

Wednesday, 11 November 1795 Snow and rain. Peck and Dixon smoothed the shingles with the plane. The oxen conducted by Hobby and Robinson brought down shingles and slats from the mountain. Ferlent, after finishing the work of filling in the loghouse, did the cowshed.

Thursday, 12 inst One side of the stable was slatted and nearly covered with shingles. We hope, if the good weather continues, that the stable will be covered completely tomorrow.

Friday, 13 November Freezing cold. The thermometer at 40°. Before dinner, Peck's brother came looking for him. This latter, wishing to return home, asked us to have his brother work, in order to hasten the end of his time: which we granted. They have boarded the Canadian house while Dixon, Hobby and Robinson were finishing up the covering of the cowshed. The 2 horses came back this evening by themselves.

Saturday, 14 November Finished covering the stable, and began covering the loghouse. Had two large pieces of hemlock squared by the Peck brothers for chimney posts. The oxen hauled planks and shingles.

At 2, M. Tassart arrived with his man and two of Mr. Brodhead's, who were coming to get provisions to bring back to him. M. Tassart delivered to us Mr. Brodhead's letter, who informed us that not having found at Sandy

Creek either the men or the provisions that Mr. Mitchell had promised him, he had gone to King'stown, from where the surveyor of Penet's square had already left; that, for lack of funds, being unable to obtain sufficient provisions, he had had no other alternative but to return by way of Penet's square, while tracing out the road from the St. Lawrence to the Black River, and hoping, with the provisions that I would send to the Long falls for him, to be able to finish lower Castorland this autumn.

This request greatly disconcerted me, as we were very short of provisions ourselves. Nevertheless, as we were better able to renew them, I resolved to share what we had, and to have half of the flour which remained to us baked.

Sunday, 15 November 1795 I gave Peck his pay, who left with his brother. I also paid Robinson, who then changed his mind and made a business agreement to cut and clear out three acres in the enclosure on his own account. Also made a business agreement with Peck to cut and square from now until spring the wood for building a store, the piazza, a tavern and a stable, for which I gave a plan; this will give us a good head-start for the next campaign.

Monday, 16 inst M. Tassart left to go to New York: we gave him our letters. Dixon and Ferlent put shingles on the house, while Hobby smoothed them with the plane. The two men, sent by Mr. Brodhead and who, according to what they told us, went to Butterfield's on an errand, are not back. We have learned from our men that their intention is not to come back: which greatly worries us for the fate of Mr. Brodhead, who is far away, abandoned and without provisions. He will be more than fortunate if he can manage to get here. The Canadians' house is nearly covered.

Tuesday, 17 November 1795 Rainy weather. Robinson came back from Topping's and assured us that Mr. Brodhead's men have deserted. Work of covering the Canadian loghouse with shingles was continued. As the rain had arisen, I had thin planks sawn in order to finish the gables of the stable and allow the livestock to be completely under shelter. Ferlent plastered the stable with clay and cow dung.

Wednesday, 18 November 1795 Finished covering the Canadian house; sawed the logs for the opening for the door, the frame for which was set in, after which the door was installed. Also sawed the opening for a window-frame, which was also installed. Cretendon arrived with his people: he claims to have cut the road; but as the bridges and causeways are not done, I told him that he would be paid as soon as he should be finished.

Robinson refused to continue his agreement, claiming that he would lose too much by it; and that this agreement, having been signed on Sunday, was null and void. He asked to work with the others. Our lack of manpower made us agree to this. Had thin planks sawn, and the gables of the stable fitted. They call these planks *clawboards*.[43]

Thursday, 19 November Had boards brought from the mountain by the oxen. Opened roads to haul them, as well as the shingles, from the sites where they have been piled up. Sawed the opening for the second window-frame, which was then installed. Finished filling in the gables of the loghouse and the stable.

Friday, 20 November Had planks for the lofts and floors squared and sawn. Brought and laid four pieces of lumber to secure and complete the gables. At 4:30 in the evening, Mr. Brodhead, about whom we were very worried, arrived with the 2 men who remained to him, having experienced no other harm than that of a forced diet for 2 days. Conferred on the result of his journey.

Saturday, 21 November 1795 Hired Robert Magnus, one of Mr. Brodhead's men, to spend the winter here with the Canadian family at the rate of five piastres per month. Mr. Brodhead will take him on again in the spring for his surveying. In the afternoon, Mr. Brodhead left to go to Bingham's settlement to look there for his horse which he lost in the vicinity. He promised us to join us at Fort Schuyler. Our men have finished closing up the gables of the buildings. The carpenters carved the two large parts which are to support the stone backing of the chimney, as well as their summer-beam.[44] These three parts have been installed this evening, not without difficulty. Ferlent planed some planks with an axe.

Sunday, 22 November Rest for our men. Estimated the planks made by Dougherty.

Monday, 23 inst In the morning, all of our livestock came on their own to the house, which confirms us in the expectation of snow, which indeed fell in the evening. Had the road for the sledge cut from the house to the meadow. This pathway will be completed tomorrow. Dixon and Robinson worked on digging a small cellar in the new loghouse to store the potatoes and turnips securely. The earth was used to fill in the frame of the hearth for the chimney. In the evening, made and installed the four steps for the front door. At 5½, Baptiste returned from Albany bringing us our funds and in good health.[45]

Tuesday, 24 November 1795 Finished cutting the road to the meadow and grubbing up the stumps. Dixon and Hobby, with Ferlent, squared planks with an axe. Baptiste made a rack. In the afternoon, I went with the ferry to get a load of flat stones to build the chimney. Against my advice, our men had loaded so much that when we left shore, we could not steer, and water came in on either end. Fortunately, we grounded on a rock at the moment we were going to sink. We took advantage of this to throw overboard some of our stones, which raised us, after which we crossed in safety. Without this underwater rock, we would, all five of us, have perished, for we were in the bend

which led to the falls, and it would have been impossible to escape by swimming.

These people rush into everything thoughtlessly, and once they are in danger, they don't know how to get themselves out of it. I had crossed over with them to get them to choose suitable stones. Without which, they would have taken the nearest ones: yet to avoid a second trip they exposed us to perishing, and were nonetheless obliged to make it. This time they showed more prudence.

Ferlent made collars to attach the livestock in the cowshed.

Wednesday, 25 inst Stones were carted. The chimney has been raised to a third of its height, and part of the floor was installed. Finished bringing planks from the mountain. Mr. Brodhead came back to dine with us. He brought his horse, which he fortunately found. As the terrain on which the Canadian house is located turns out to be a good clayey sand, I had the beginning of a cellar dug. The earth there being good for making a mortar, that will save us a great deal of time.

Thursday, 26 November 1795 This morning, I sent Mr. Brodhead with my brother to the high mountain, two miles to the east, to take from there, with the transit,[46] the direction of the principal mountain chains which can be seen from this spot. The fog which arose prevented them from finishing and verifying the operation.

Work continued on the chimney. Made racks, collars and chains out of young wood, entwined, to attach our livestock. Mr. Brodhead left after dinner. While returning to Fort Stanwix, he is going to verify Cretendon's work on the new road; will make, if he finds the opportunity, business agreements for 16 barrels of pork and thirty of flour, which will be transported here by sledge this winter: this will save us two-thirds on the cartage and half on the price of provisions, not to mention the large gain in time. Mr. Brodhead will rejoin us at Fort Schuyler, where he will inform us of what he will have accomplished in this respect.

Friday, 27 November All of our oxen came back this morning on their own, as well as the white cow. No sign of the yellow one, gone for 3 weeks.

Sent Baptiste to Bingham's and to the surrounding area to see about making a business agreement for maize, potatoes and turnips. If we were able to obtain these three items in the neighborhood, this would save us much on transportation costs. Baptiste came back at two and brought us a letter from Mr. Brodhead, which he found at Bingham's, who will furnish us the necessary potatoes and turnips. He does not want to sell the maize. Same kind of work as yesterday.

Saturday, 28 November 1795 The thermometer went down to 22°. Beginning yesterday, the river began to sweep along small pieces of ice. At eight in the morning, it was closed off between our landing and the one on

the opposite shore. The countercurrent of the fall bringing back the ice blocks circularly is the cause of their stopping here rather than in other places. The sight of this redoubled the eagerness of our workers, who tremble with fear of being closed off here by the ice. They worked so hard that they made and installed a door in the stable and two for the two lofts. Finally, the chimney was completed and the lower part of the Canadian loghouse was fitted with large logs.

Sunday, 29 inst Decided upon Monday for our departure, our two buildings having been finished. Our carpenter was in such a hurry that he left this morning. In order to get the canoe across, we had to break the ice by going back and forth. Paid out to Dixon forty piastres as an advance. Had hay brought on the sledge. Gathered our livestock. Made the inventory of our belongings, which I left in the care of the Canadian family. Robinson engaged himself to spend the winter also, at the rate of five dollars per month.

Monday, 30 November Fortunately, a rather heavy rain during the night and part of the morning got rid of the ice, as we would not have been able to bring the livestock across in the ferry, and the ice was not strong enough to hold them. The thermometer went back up to 46°. We verified the inventory item by item as we delivered the belongings to the care of Ferlent. Before dinner, we had the waggon brought over empty, harnessed to a pair of oxen. We then had the horses & the other pair of oxen get into the ferry, not without difficulty. Baptiste almost fell into the water in attempting to hold back the oxen, frightened, who jumped into the river and crossed it by swimming. We finally left around 2, leaving the Ferlent family & Robinson at the settlement. Robert, who is coming with us, will bring the waggon back from Fort Schuyler with the provisions. We arrived at Topping's at five in the evening. Hobby is coming back with us, fortunately, as Robert seems to be a rather bad waggoner. We saw at Topping's a hand mill by means of which a single man can, without too much effort, grind a bushel of wheat in one hour: we will buy one of them for next year. The Topping family gave us the recipe for *spruce beer* (*bierre de spruce*), spoken of highly by Cook and Americans but having in my opinion a very disagreeable taste.

> For a barrel of 32 gallons, one boils in a large kettle twelve pounds of spruce branches. This decoction is poured into the barrel: after mixing in a gallon of molasses, the barrel is filled with cold water; the whole mixture is then stirred with a stick.

Tuesday, First of December, 1795 Left Topping's at nine. Given our scanty provisions, we told Baptiste to go on with the waggon as far as possible. We went to Edmond's, my brother and I, with the intention of rejoining our waggon the next day, it being impossible for our horses to reach Steuben, the 1st real settlement, because of the snow and bad roads. Our people, inasmuch as they have the tent and camp beds, will not spend a bad

night wherever they might stop. Visited Mr. Boon's saw-mill; the flour-mill is not completed. Edmond cannot furnish us with planks this winter, as we were hoping: his creek, having little water, being frozen part of the winter.

Wednesday, 2 December 1795 Rain all night long and storm coming from the west. Left at 9 in the morning. We caught up with our waggon in the evening, at Platt's, a farmer, at whose home our people spent the night. It is ½ mile from Steuben, where we arrived at 4 in the evening, having spent seven hours to go fourteen miles, the snow and rain having caused so much damage to the roads. As one advances from Castorland to Steuben, the terrain gets higher and, for the same reason, we found the snow increasing in depth. No snow at Castorland; two inches at Topping's; six inches at Edmond's, and two feet on the Steuben plateau. This mountain in Steuben is covered with springs up to its summit, where the paths are nearly impracticable. Last year, there were four feet of snow on the plateau and in the lower settlements, only three feet. We went to spend the night at White's, at the Baron's house. He told us that the Welsh had all settled in Steuben: he promised to make inquiries for our lost cow.

Thursday, 3 December Left Steuben at nine-thirty. At 12:30 arrived at the inn of Mr. Boon's large settlement, five miles distant: our waggon joined us there. We had our people have dinner, and the waggon left at two to go spend the night 5 miles from here so that we could reach Fort Schuyler tomorrow. We visited with Mr. Boon, with whom I settled for what he had furnished us. I also had to pay a man named King twelve shillings for damages done this summer by our goats to the trees of his garden: and I was only too happy that his modesty limited itself to this sum, as he had brought witnesses who would have just as easily certified the damage at double or triple the amount. The twelve shillings did not leave the tavern, where they were drunk to the health of the French goats.

Friday, 4 December 1795 Left at 9. Arrived with our waggon at Fort Schuyler at 4 in the evening. Paid Hobby this evening. Baptiste went to bring the horse back to the widow Lockwood, from whom he had rented it on his return from Albany at the rate of three shillings per day; but this woman, because her horse had been kept four days longer than agreed upon, claimed damages, and was willing to limit herself to a dollar a day. Baptiste left her the horse in partial payment. I sent him back right away to offer her payment before witnesses at the three shillings rate, and as the justice of the peace had become involved, she had to be satisfied with that.

Saturday, 5 Xber. 1795 Our stay used to find hogs, to buy and salt them, to visit drivers, to make a business agreement for the transporting of our provisions by sledge: we have at least thirty loads of them. Waited for Mr. Brodhead. I left to bring our title for registration in White'stown. Mr. Kip, needing to go to N.Y., simply took our batteau, and as this batteau

has not yet come back up, we have to do without it to bring our things down. The roads are too bad to undertake the route with the waggon. The stages have been interrupted for a month because of the bad condition of the roads. Received a letter from M. Tassart, who alerts me that he used our batteau to go down with Mr. Kip. Hired Hobby to bring the waggon back to Castorland with Robert. Saw Peck, who is to go there as soon as the snow allows his provisions to be transported. Upon his protesting that in bad weather he would have nothing to do, I came to an agreement with him that he would keep busy then in making window-frames at the rate of five *sols* per square.

Sunday, 6 December Hobby's brother going down to Albany in a batteau, offered us his services. I took advantage of this occasion to send my brother on ahead with our trunks and belongings. Set the price at three dollars, and my brother left toward ten. I sent Baptiste around the neighboring farms to make purchases of pork. I also went to see Mr. Peter Smith to get information. Baptiste came back in the evening. Baptiste came back in the evening[47] without having been able to find any pork at less than five and a half and six dollars per hundred. Mr. Brodhead arrived with Cretendon, and gave me a report on the condition of the road to Fort Stanwix. I therefore paid Cretendon, keeping back 60 piastres until the entire execution of his agreement.

Monday, 7 December 1795 I paid for a hog that Baptiste had purchased to send to Castorland; but being unable to find any more cheaply, Mr. Post having bought at 40 shillings the pork which we had been promised 3 weeks ago and Mr. Brodhead having been unable to obtain any at this price, I learned that Mr. Post did not have any salt and was embarrassed with his purchase. I therefore went to Mr. Kip's store, and I bought the eight bushels of salt which made up the rest of his stock: I then went to see Mr. Post. I gave him to understand that my salt would not spoil while his hogs would be lost if he persisted in wanting to sell them too expensively. We finally agreed on 42 shillings per hundred, and he also let me have the barrels which he had ordered at the cost of seven shillings apiece. There were ten barrels ready, which saved us yet even more. I had the two pair of oxen and our horses shod for ice. I hired some men who helped Baptiste cut up and salt the pork. In the evening, Mr. Guitteau had Mr. Brodhead arrested, on a claim of not having been paid for his surveying, whereas it was Mr. Brodhead who ought to have prosecuted him, as I had advised him to do, for having left his work unfinished. Mr. Peter Smith, head sheriff, having arrived, I offered myself as bail for the appearance of Mr. Brodhead: by means of which he was set free to continue his business and ours.

Tuesday, 8 December Not having enough to make 14 barrels of pork, Mr. Post proposed receding three of them to me to complete our provision: he let us have them at thirteen piastres the barrel. We decided, before accepting his offer, to try whether we could get any at a cheaper price. Mr. Brodhead

left to go to Floyd's mills in Fonda's Patent to pay, for our provision of flour, a deposit on some wheat that they want to sell, here, four piastres per hundred; whereas the wheat being one piastre a bushel, it ought to be worth only two piastres and a half. I also charged him with making a business agreement for 40 bushels of maize, 250 lbs. of maple sugar, and a barrel of maple vinegar.

In the evening, we had twelve barrels of pork salted and packed. It snowed all day long.

Wednesday, 9 Xber 1795 Finished salting the pork; we had 14 barrels of it, besides a barrel of lard. I made a business agreement with a man to accompany the waggon, at the rate of four dollars and a half and, at the rate of 7 dollars and a half, with Hobby as the waggoner, besides their food; the bad weather making it impossible to find any at a better rate, and Robert Magnus having deserted on the second day of his arrival here. I gave Hobby three dollars on account for travel expenses: that therefore makes 15 dollars for conducting two barrels of flour, one of pork and several miscellaneous items, besides the use of our oxen and our waggon. I sent on the same occasion a measuring bushel and some alum for curing skins. Our waggon left finally at three o'clock in the after noon to go spend the night two miles from here. I then went to see Mr. Peter Smith, to propose to him to go down together, our batteau being back finally from Schenectady: but he can only leave next Monday.

Thursday, 10 December Waited for Mr. Brodhead; but the snows and bad roads have doubtlessly held him up. I concluded my business with Mr. Post for his three barrels of pork: we paid twenty piastres for it last summer. I had all of our barrels marked and locked in his store. At seven in the evening, our waggoner Hobby came to inform me that our waggon had stopped 9 miles from here at Stafford's, four miles from Mr. Boon's; that the roads were impassable, given the mix of mud and snow; that it was impossible to go further by waggon, and that it was absolutely necessary to wait until freezing cold should allow the journey to be finished by sledge. Concerned for our guardians at Castorland who lack provisions and who, not seeing anyone come back, will think that they have been abandoned, I decided to have Baptiste leave on horseback the next day to try to have our belongings brought as far as Mr. Boon's, and from there get word to our people that our belongings had been brought there, so that one of them might come to guard them and finish bringing them at the first freeze.

Friday, 11 December Baptiste, having left at eight, came back at noon with our second waggoner, whom he met bringing back the oxen. Baptiste had hired Warren, one of our workers at Castorland, and set a price with him to drive the oxen back to Castorland and bring my letter there. The belongings were left at Strafford's in storage, it being impossible to conduct them further. I noted to our people to get, while waiting, flour and maize at

Topping's until the freeze should allow them to go get the load. Warren left right away to bring our oxen back to the great fall. In the afternoon, a batteau going down offered me an opportunity which I could not take advantage of, because I was waiting for Mr. Brodhead. Several persons came to ask for him; among others, a young surveyor, who promised me several bushels of barley for sowing next year, and some young hogs, in the spring-time, at four *sols* the pound.

Saturday, 12 December Mr. Brodhead came back without having contracted for the grain nor for the flour, but with promises to contract for the wheat at 8 sh. 6 pence the bushel; maize at 4 sh. and flour at 28 sh. the hundred. I authorized him to complete these business agreements and that of the cartages at the rate of five piastres the waggon for a half-ton to conduct from Fort Schuyler to Castorland, and the same price from Albany to Fort Schuyler, so that the transportation from Albany to Castorland will cost us ten piastres per thousand. In the evening, a batteau arrived: I set my passage for the next day. I settled with Messrs. Kip and Post, as well as with Mr. Bagg, my host, and our packages were done up the same evening.

Sunday, 13 December 1795 I had Baptiste leave in the morning with the two horses to get to Albany, it being impossible to go by waggon or by sledge. Mr. Brodhead left me to return to White'stown to complete our business agreements. I embarked toward 10. At noon, we stopped five miles out to pick up a Quaker family, who made us wait two mortal hours. This family, reduced by half and the remainder sick, discouraged by the feverish illnesses of this region, was returning to Rhode-Island. In spite of this delay, we arrived toward 4 and a half, at the canal of Little Falls. Due to the lock-men's lack of experience, and because of the water's lack of depth, we used up one hour to cross it. When we emerged from the canal, it was dark, and our imprudent fellows, having let the boat go before the lock was sufficiently emptied, the violence of the waterfall threw us onto a rock where we almost broke apart. We deliberated whether we would continue in the dark. The *yes's* winning out, I covered myself with my overcoat the best I could against the biting cold and abandoned myself to providence, which got us through without our seeing clearly all the rapids where we could have been broken and drowned a thousand times over. We made ten miles more, and our boatmen gloried in their skill at steering their batteau well without needing to see clearly.

We slept on the floor of a rather good loghouse.

Monday, 14 December 1795 Left at 7 in the morning. At 11, we had a late breakfast, at the inn of Mr. Conolly, Irish Catholic, at whose home we were very well treated. My brother had spent the night here eight days earlier. As the wind had risen, we unfurled the sail and arrived in Schenectady at 5, penetrated with cold and wet; this day seemed very long to us; but too, we

did in two days what we could not have done in five on land. I went to see Mr. Miller and Dixon our carpenter. I found only the wife of this latter, and I told her to send her husband to settle this week, as I was counting on going down to New York. I spent the night at Colbreath's, a rather bad tavern, where my co-navigators had engaged me to go.

Tuesday, 15 Xber 1795 Took the stage at 8 in the morning. Arrived in Albany at 11. In the evening, I kept busy arranging my papers.

Wednesday, 16 Xber Paid my first visits.

Thursday, 17 inst Baptiste arrived with the two horses. I hired a Canadian to take care of them. I used my time to find a sledge for carrying loads and another for traveling in.

Friday, 18 December 1795 Had a Franklin stove installed in the office of the Company, put all the papers in order.

Saturday, 19 December Began to write up the accounts.

Sunday, 20 inst Return of Mr. Brodhead. He has completed the business agreements, which he handed over to me. Worked on the surveying report.

Monday, 21 December Had Mr. Brodhead make at Mr. Dewitt's a copy of the survey of No. 4, which was deposited there. Had him write down and ratify the statement of Pharoux's accident. Settled accounts with him: he is leaving in the evening for Esopus. Paid Dixon.

Tuesday, 22 inst Made an agreeement for a sledge for carrying loads at fifteen piastres. Reserved for the price of thirty dollars Mr. Cuyler's traveling sledge. This sledge is almost new: they are sold new for fifty piastres. Conferred with Mr. Dejean who, by means of the help of Mr. Genet, his son-in-law, is proposing to establish a store this winter in Castorland.

Wednesday, 23 inst Worked on Pharoux's accounts.

Thursday, 24 inst Finished Pharoux's accounts, according to his field-books, and made out an estimate of the expenses for 1796, for which I will need about three thousand pounds.

Friday, 25 Xber 1795 The river getting free from ice, I arrange my departure for the first sloop going down. Worked on the Company's accounts.

Saturday, 26 December Worked on the Company's accounts. Made my preparations for departure. Took some letters of recommendations from my friends for various members of the Legislature and officers of the Government, in order to support our petition for the road to King'stown.

Sunday, 27 inst Left Albany at 5 in the evening. We had in the sloop Mr. Weston, canal engineer and his family, the former baron du Roux, a

Frenchman, coming back from Canada, and the Quaker family, who had gone down the Mohawk with me. Stopped 4 miles away, out of fear of getting caught in the ice.

Monday, 28 Xber 1795 Wind south. We free ourselves from the ice. Made little headway. Noted details on Canada from M. du Roux, who spent three months there. Chatted with Mr. Weston on the canal project for Fort Stanwix, which canal is to be begun next spring.

Tuesday, 29 inst Wind SW. Passed Hudson. Chatted about the project for the Onondago canal. Mr. Weston is in agreement with the views of our friend Pharoux, which were to connect Oneida Lake and Lake Ontario by little Salmon Creek; this will cost less and will shorten navigation by two days.

Wednesday, 30 Xber. 1795 Wind SW, a little strong. Arrived in New York at night, but too late to round the Battery. We decide to sleep on board.

Thursday, 31 December Accepted lodging at our friend Thurman's. Saw M. Olive, Chériot, etc.

Castorland Journal 1796–1797

DEPARTURE

Friday, First of January 1796 Saw Messrs. Seton, Constable and our friends.

Saturday, 2 January Saw Mr. Scriba on the subject of our road. Saw Mr. Green, who also promised me recommendations in support of our petition.

Sunday, 3 inst Saw Colonel Walker about Baron de Steuben's debt, which he promised to acquit as soon as the sale was completed. Saw M. Le Guain. I have been unable to meet with Mr. William Constable, as of yet.

Monday, 4 January 1796 M. Olive hands me a packet of letters from the Company which was sent to me from Albany. I see with the greatest surprise that instead of sending us funds for this year, the Company has drawn on us for the reimbursement, April next, of *six thousand six hundred seventy piastres*, which the Company had us hold in 1794, *with the interest*.

In a situation this critical and this unexpected, I consulted with M. Olive, of our associates the only one in this country, and we resolved to put up for public sale the 14,000 acres which remain to us to sell, in order to have enough to furnish this reimbursement, calculated to be about 7,50[0][1] piastres, with the rest to be used to finish the surveying, the mill which has been begun, and the necessary roads. By this means alone can we save the Company's reputation, avoid allowing Mr. Morry's notes to be protested, and finish the most essential work.

Tuesday, 5 January 1796 Made the plan for the notice. Went to the Consul to register the act of affidavit[2] for the death of my friend, and requested that the seals which had been fastened be lifted. From there, I went to Messrs. Hoffman's and Seton's, who are holding a public sale, in order to put our lands up for sale. Still unable to get hold of Mr. William Constable even though I reside opposite him, I wrote him for a rendez-vous.

Dined at Colonel Walker's with Major North, speaker of the Legislature, Messrs. de Goix and La Roche. Spoke a great deal about establishing the road to King'stown and the trade in furs by way of this new channel.

Wednesday, 6 January 1796 Again went, without success, to Mr. Constable's. Presented a request at the Consul's for lifting the seals. Set a date with the chancellor for Monday to begin the inventory.

Thursday, 7 January 1796 Finally met Mr. William Constable. Set a date with him, for tomorrow, about his wife's ratification. Saw Messrs. Seton, Green, etc.

Friday, 8 January Received Mrs. Constable's ratification. Conferred with M. de Goix about establishing commerce in our regions,[3] seeing that we had no reason to count on the execution of the projects which we had proposed to Messrs. Olive and Chériot, foreseeing even the failure of their establishment at Albany, which they conducted in a way that was completely opposite the directions we had given them and which therefore can only create a loss for them. It is however impossible for the Castorland establishment to succeed if commerce does not also lend a hand to agriculture.

Saturday, 9 January 1796 Conferred with Mr. Constable about our boundaries. Dined at his home with Major L'Enfant and the former Baron DuRoux.[4] Mr. Constable does not appear to me at all willing to consider any motives besides his personal gain, and my words failed against his self-interest, as unyielding as it is polite.

Sunday, 10 inst Spent the day at Mr. Green's, whom I engaged to buy a part of our lands. He promised me to introduce me to several persons who would support our petition for the road to King'stown.

Monday, 11 January 1796 With the Chancellor, began the lifting of seals and the inventory of my friend. Delivered my letters of recommendation to several members of the Legislature.

Tuesday, 12 January Same occupations.

Wednesday, 13 inst Same occupations.

Thursday, 14 January 1796 Attended the sale of our lands: they went only as high as *one dollar* per acre. This low price is due to the scarcity of specie, which is extraordinary at this time, and to the early payment dates which we are asking for. However, we will have enough at this price to fulfill our engagements and complete our work projects.

Friday, 15 January 1796 Continued the inventory. Went to the Legislative Assembly where Mr. North, the Speaker, returned to me the petition and the map which was presented last year, so that we could present a new one.

Saturday, 16 inst Messrs. Hoffman and Seton inform us that the purchaser of two rows of lots cannot find a sufficient deposit: we give the order to resell privately. Paid visits to different members of the Legislature.

Sunday, 17 January Spent the day at Mr. Green's. Wrote up with him a new petition for our road.

Monday, 18 inst With Mr. Green, called on several members of the Legislature and on several proprietors of lands in our neighborhood, and whom we engaged to sign our petition.

Tuesday, 19 January Saw Mr. Constable on the same subject: he refuses to sign the petition. Upon this, I represented to him that his brother had signed it last year in his name. He told me that times had changed and that he was petitioning for another road which would be more advantageous for him. Saw other persons, among whom General Lamb and Mr. Ogden, who both signed it.

Wednesday, 20 January 1796 We learn that the purchaser of the third row refuses to conclude, saying that my power for selling is invalid and that as P. Chassanis is French and unable even to own property, his title of acquisition is null and our lands are subject to confiscation.[5] Saw Mr. Jacob, this very difficult purchaser. He told me that that was the opinion of his lawyer, and that I can consult one for my part. This new obstacle (about which we had, however, warned the Company at the time of the refusal which the 1794 Legislature made to granting Pierre Chassanis the right to own property, an obstacle which had been treated as offhandedly in Paris as it was here by Mr. Harrison, the counsel to whom Mr. Le Ray had addressed us) brought all our operations to a halt and took away our last hope of remedying the thoughtless procedure of having drawn on us to pay while we were without funds. I was deeply affected, and I consulted in vain with M. Olive; we found no way to meet the Association's engagements.[6]

Thursday, 21 January In agreement with M. Olive, I resolve to consult Mr. Alexander Hamilton,[7] he being the lawyer who enjoys here the highest reputation, about the Company's position. I write up the report for the consultation, with supporting documents.

Friday, 22 inst Sent to ask for a time to meet with Mr. A. Hamilton. We go twice to his office without being able to find him. We decide finally to leave the documents and a brief note asking him for another rendez-vous.

Saturday, 23 January 1796 Conferred with Colonel Hamilton: he promised us a consultation for next Tuesday. Went to the Legislature to communicate to the Speaker the petition which we were to present to the Chamber: he promises to support it but advises us first to present it to the Senate.

Sunday, 24 inst Spent the day at Mr. Green's. Had the petition signed by persons that he had brought together for this purpose.

Monday, 25 inst Accompanied by Mr. Peter Smith, high sheriff of our county, brought the petition to the home of Judge Myers, Senator for our district. He is charging himself with presenting it to the Senate and with supporting it.

Tuesday, 26 inst Went with Mr. Olive to Colonel Hamilton's; he gave his opinion, and promises us by week's end his decision as well as the form for the power-of-attorney which I asked him for. We speak to him about our petition to the Legislature, and I deliver to him a copy of Pharoux's map for him to show to General Schuyler, his father-in-law, president of the Committee for roads, and to the other persons with whom he has influence.

Wednesday, 27 January 1796 Saw Colonel Walker, Major North, Mr. Scriba and others, for the success of our petition.

Thursday, 28 January Saw Mr. Peter Smith and Colonel Platt. The latter introduces me to Colonel Burr, member of Congress and purchaser of the Watson and Angerstein tracts: I discuss our petition with him.[8] He gives me a rendez-vous at his office for the next day.

Friday, 29 inst Conferred with Colonel Burr; he is one of the leaders of the opposition in this country. I leave one of our maps with him, which he promises me to show his friends. He is to engage them to support our petition.

Monday, 30 January Saw General Lamb, proprietor of lands on the Oswegatchy: he promises also his support. Withdrew from Colonel Hamilton's our documents and statement. I give him twenty piastres for his honorarium, which is viewed as a rather modest payment in this country.

Sunday, 31 inst Spent the day at Mr. Green's, who offered me two dollars an acre for the 2216 acre tract which we had divided into lots to sell last autumn: as that cannot be squared with our current views, I refuse him, for the time being.

Monday, First of February 1796 The sale of our merchandise at the public sale over, I settle the 1795 account, as well as the interest accounts.

Tuesday, 2 February Worked on writing up a long letter to the Company on its current situation, on last year's operations and on those for this year.

Wednesday, 3 inst Continued the same work and a copy of the said letter.

Thursday, 4 inst Made translation and copies of the consultation with Mr. Hamilton, of the model for the power of attorney, and also of his directions.

Friday, 5 February Made up my shipments for France. Delivered the whole to Mr. William Seton to be sent the next day on a ship sailing for France.

Saturday, 6 February 1796 Saw Colonels Burr and Hamilton: collected the maps which I had left. Picked up at M. Olive's one thousand piastres of our funds to fulfil my engagements and business agreements made at Fort Schuyler: made my preparations for departure.

Sunday, 7 inst Made my good-bye visits.

Monday, 8 inst Left at 11 by stage. Dined at King'sbridge. Spent the night at Sing Sing.

Tuesday, 9 February Breakfasted at Croton. Crossed the river on foot over the ice, the bridge having been swept away and the ice too weak to hold carriages. There, we took a sledge-stage[9] with which we crossed the Highlands. Dined at Peekskill, spent the night at Poughkeepsie.

Wednesday, 10 February 1796 Dined at Hudson. Arrived at Kinderhook at 4 in the evening. By then we were only two passengers, and seeing that we were only 20 miles from Albany, we engaged the conductor to bring us there to spend the night in exchange for a piastre: he agreed. We encountered the stage which was coming from Albany; it struck us, and due to the violence of the shock the carriage-top over our heads was broken. Fortunately, we got out of it with only some bruises; finally, we arrived in Albany at nine in the evening. We crossed the river on the ice, but here it is more than a foot thick.

Thursday, 11 February 1796 Made my arrival visits. Verified the work of the Company's office and verified the copies of the accounts.

Friday, 12 February Paid Mr. Cockburn two hundred piastres as payment for Mr. Brodhead, to count toward the payment of the flour from Fort Schuyler. Conferred with him on our boundaries and the details for surveying Boylston's section.

Saturday, 13 inst Worked on the Company's accounts.

Sunday, 14 inst Went to Cottage to see the family La Tour du Pin. Planned for next autumn a trip to Niagara and into upper Canada.

Monday, 15 February 1796 Worked on the Company's accounts.

Tuesday, 16 inst Busy at same.

Wednesday, 17 inst Had the pipe of rum sent to Castorland on the Company's sledge, conducted by Paul and Baptiste, as this item can be entrusted only to reliable people.

Thursday, 18 February Worked on the Company's accounts. Hired a Canadian for the next campaign, at 9 dollars per month.

Friday, 19 inst Worked in the office. Verified the duplicates and triplicates of letters and accounts for France.

Saturday, 20 February Organized and examined the letters in order to continue the work of copying them.

Sunday, 21 February Saw M. and Madame La Tour du Pin: they inform us of their departure for France next spring.

Monday, 22 inst Finished up the Company's 1795 accounts.

Tuesday, 23 inst Made varying estimates of expenditures for the next campaign, following the varying situations which the condition of our finances will put us in.

Wednesday, 24 February 1796 Verified the copies and registration of the 1795 account.

Thursday, 25 February 1796 Preparations for my departure for Fort Schuyler. Left at two on the stage for Schenectady. I encounter there two Frenchmen coming back from Genesee, where they had business. They give me some important details on this newly settled area.

Friday, 26 inst Left on the Canajohary stage, where I arrived at 6 in the evening.

Saturday, 27 February Left on the stage for White'stown. Arrived at Fort Schuyler at 4 in the afternoon. There I find our people who arrived from Castorland the day before. They inform me that the Black River not having frozen sufficiently to bear sledges, they had to bring the livestock back here at the end of January. The hay from the neighboring meadow was found to be already consumed, and they were unable to bring by the river, as they had counted on doing, the hay from the meadow 6 miles further down. As a consequence of our livestock returning, the Castorland road at Topping's was unable to be kept open, and the sledges had to unload all their things at his home, so that in the springtime, we will still have to carry them seven miles, not to mention the fact that our things are not nearly as safe as at home. Used to complications in all that we undertake, I worked only on the remedy. Informed that our oxen were very badly nourished and without shelter at Russel's, I ordered that they go pay him immediately and that they bring them to Mr. Bagg's.

Sunday, 28 February 1796 I went to White'stown. Saw Mr. Kyte, a merchant, who was supposed to deliver to me one hundred bushels of wheat, twenty bushels of maize, and forty bushels of oats. He refused to do it, as the prices had doubled since the business agreement that he made and signed with Mr. Brodhead. I then showed him his note for two hundred piastres which had been received as an advance. He told me he was not any more able to pay that than to deliver the merchandise, as his commercial partnership with Mr. Starkwather has just been dissolved, and they have given all of their business matters to be settled into the hands of Mr. Arthur Breeze, a lawyer,

of which they had given advance notice to the public through the newspapers. Knowing how little use it is to get angry with the bad faith of the people of this country, I went to see Mr. Breeze, who tells me that if the debtors of Mr. Kyte were to pay him, there will doubtless be enough to pay off his creditors; that, as for the business agreement, he did not advise me to undertake any proceedings because it would seem very hard to force a man to deliver for one dollar what is now worth two. I observed to him that that was not my fault, but his; and that, if he had delivered the merchandise in December, he would have gained an eighth, instead of losing half. To that he only answered that most likely, Mr. Kyte had been unable to do that then. It was not however my intention to go to court. The state of our funds obliging us to reduce our spending, I no longer needed such a large quantity of provisions, and as for the 200 piastres paid, I had the recourse of passing the note on to Mr. Brodhead as an advance on the surveying: and so the Company would lose nothing from the bad faith of the contracting parties and the lack of justice in this country. I went from there to Mr. Whitemore's, who had contracted for a ton of flour at £ 28, although it is now worth £ 40. He promised to fulfil his engagement, but he could only deliver at the end of the week. I ordered from him, in addition, two barrels of maize flour.

Monday, 29 February 1796 I sent the horses to get our waggon, which stayed last year stuck in the snow 7 miles from here. With much difficulty, our people managed to bring it back. I saw several persons who asked me for land: but none had cash to put down.

Tuesday, First of March 1796 I sent men to get the yokes and chains, left last year at Mr. Boon's. I had the waggon repaired. I saw Messrs. Post, Peter Smith, and I was still unable to manage to sell in lots, although I limited myself to a dollar down.

Wednesday, 2 March 1796 I returned to White'stown to Mr. Whitemore's, who promised me the flour without fail for next Monday. Accordingly, I decided to leave Baptiste with the funds, to pay for it when it should be delivered; to have it conducted on sledges all the way to Topping's; and to try to take advantage of this opportunity to open the road all the way to Castorland, if it should be possible; and, in this case, have all of our belongings brought there. I also gave him my directives for Castorland and got ready to leave the next day for Albany where our business matters require me.

Thursday, 3 March 1796 Left in our sledge with Paul. Spent the night in Canajohary. Made 40 miles.

Friday, 4 March 1796 Spent the night 7 miles from Albany. Made 47 miles. We crossed on the bridge of the Shohohary [*sic*], as the ice was no longer strong enough to risk crossing. This brought me to a new region, the back-lying areas to the south of the Mohawk. This region is very mountain-

ous and even sharply broken. Earth light. Much sand, clay and rock: however, it is getting cleared as speedily as the good lands are.

Saturday, 5 inst Arrived at 8 in the morning in Albany. Paid my calls.

Sunday, 6 inst Put the papers in order. Saw M. de la Tour du Pin. Agreed to buy three cows and a bull from him, which he will keep until the month of April.

Monday, 7 March 1796 to Sunday, 27 inst Wrote up the main journal through July 1794. Worked on the concordance of the different maps for our surrounding regions. Kept up the correspondence.

Sunday, 27 March 1796 Departure for New York, in order to try ways of obtaining funds for us. Forced to take a sloop from New City, those in Albany not yet loading. I had much difficulty in getting onto the ship, the wind violent and the swell heavy.

Monday, 28 March 1796 We were held back by ice. I made the acquaintance of Mr. Hunt, md.[10] of New City. He has bought from Mr. Constable the township at the mouth of Sandy Creek, and plans on making a settlement there next summer.

29, 30, 31 March. First and 2 April Navigation tedious and delayed by bad weather and contrary winds; arrived Saturday evening. Lodged at the house of my friend Thurman.

Sunday, 3 April 1796 I went to Chevilly, M. Olive's country house: he has been unable to sell our lands and is no longer interested in buying.

Monday, 4 inst Paid my calls on Messrs. Seton, Le Guain. I am very worried as to the means for obtaining funds for us, being able to sell only to persons who have enough confidence in me to overlook formal procedures. I can see no other person but Mr. Seton to whom I can have recourse.

Tuesday, 5 April 1796 Conferred with Mr. Seton. I propose to him the sale of 2216 acres, which I have not been able to sell by lots at Fort Schuyler, nor at Albany. I leave him the map for these.

Wednesday, 6 inst Made out my account with M. Olive. There remain available to us only one thousand and some piastres.

Thursday, 7 inst I receive from Colonel Walker the twenty-two pounds which were due us from the Baron's estate. Mr. Thurman is arriving from Jersey. I propose to him also the purchase of our lands.

Friday, 8 April Discussed our interests with Mr. Seton, who is willing to give only four thousand piastres for the lot. Conferred with M. Olive, with whom I leave my final offer and who promises me to get Mr. Seton to come to a decision.

Saturday, 9 April Mr. Seton accepts the purchase at 4432 piastres. I bring the documents to Mr. Wilkes's, notary, to draw up the act, and I find my mind is relieved of a great burden, no longer having to worry about finishing our surveying, which will at least enable us to divide up and dissolve our partnership. Mr. Brodhead arrives and informs me that he has contracted with Mr. Coxe to survey No. 4. He promises me that our operation will, as is right, take place first.

Sunday, 10 April 1796 I went to Chevilly with Mr. Brodhead. The Legislature not having decided anything about our petition for the road to King'stown, we resolved to begin opening it this year, each of us on our lands, Mr. Scriba and the purchasers of Boylston promising to contribute their share. Mr. Brodhead accordingly writes to Mr. Coxe for the part which is to cross No. 4.

Monday, 11 April 1796 Signed the contract of sale to Mr. Seton and received his notes. Saw M. and Madame de La Tour du Pin, who were ready to embark for France.

Tuesday, 12 April 1796 Made ready my departure. Purchase of a hand-mill and different provisions for the campaign. Wrote to the Company.

Wednesday, 13 April I embark with my friend Thurman for Albany.

14, 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19 inst Long and tedious voyage. Wind nearly always contrary or no wind. I had time to make the acquaintance of Mr. Richardson of Aurora near the Cayuga, a Senator; with Mr. Sauvage, Representative of Freehold; and Mr. Smith, merchant of Troy.

Wednesday, 20 inst Made my calls in Albany and purchases for the Black River.

Thursday, 21 inst Made inquiries in order to find a waggon to buy. Saw several waggons which are not suitable.

Friday, 22 April Bought from Mr. Angus a makeshift waggon, but solid and well-ironed, for nineteen pounds. Made various purchases.

Saturday, 23 April 1796 Wrote up and settled the accounts through today. Hired two men at the rate of five pounds per month. M. La Tour du Pin's farmer is bringing the three cows and the bull which I had bought.

Sunday, 24 inst Preparations for departure. The two men that I had engaged have been hired away by a company agent who is offering them six pounds per month, so that our departure, set for Monday, is delayed for lack of men to conduct the livestock.

Monday, 25 inst. 1796 During the night, the door to our yard was knocked down, and the cows and bull taken away. I send my brother on

horseback one way, and Baptiste the other, to look for their tracks. Baptiste came back in the evening with a cow and the bull, which were found in the woods.

Tuesday, 26 April Made unsuccessful searches to find the two other lost cows. Hired a man to be a waggoner. Preparations for departure.

Wednesday, 27 inst Departure of my brother with the waggon, loaded with those belongings which needed looking after most; Baptiste conducting the waggon and Heyden, the only man whom we had been able to hire, leading the cow and the bull which remain to us. They went to spend the night 18 miles from Albany, being heavily loaded. I stayed to wait for Mr. Brodhead and the other surveyors.

Thursday, 28 inst[11]

[GD] Our little caravan made 25 miles during some rather bad weather.
[SD] Arrival in Albany of Mr. Brodhead with his surveyors. He is leaving for Schenectady to review his batteaux and see to hiring men, promising me to come back on Saturday. We set our departure for next Monday.

Friday, 29 April 1796 Our voyagers made twenty-four miles.
——I was busy with preparations for departure.

Saturday, 30 April Given the poor roads and the bad weather, our people had to spend the night in Little Falls.

——Mr. Brodhead did not come back to Albany as he had promised me. I made my departure visits.

Sunday, First of May Our people went to spend the night five miles from Fort Schuyler.
——Mr. Brodhead came back in the evening without having been able to obtain enough men. We settled various matters between us. Departure set for tomorrow.

Monday, 2 May 1796 My brother arrived at Bagg's Inn at nine in the morning; the horses, very tired from the poor roads and the waggon's heavy load. Sent for four of our oxen and the second waggon, which were two miles farther up. Met at Mr. Bagg's Messrs. Froideville and Sorret, from Geneva; Tassart and Le Normand, French. M. de Froideville is employed by the Holland Company at its settlement at Presqu'isle on Lake Erie. M. Tassart is going to Penet's square on M. Olive's behalf. Messrs. le Normand and Sorret, who have come to learn about commerce in the interior, are returning to New York. Settled on the younger Hobby for waggoner. The men as scarce and as expensive as last year. There are 400 workers employed at the Fort Stanwix canal, which is making their asking price go up from 15 to 20 piastres per month.

——I left Albany on the Schenectady stage with Messrs. Brodhead, Young and Smith, three of our surveyors. Arrived in Schenectady at 7 in the evening. Saw Mr. Miller, who has not been able to find the batteau which was stolen from us at the port last year.

Tuesday, 3 May 1796 *Settlement*. Stayed to recruit men. Baptiste made a new ox-shaft for the waggon. Messrs. Le Normand and Sorret leaving for Albany, I gave them my letters. Sent for our two other pair of oxen, which are pensioned two miles from here. Had a yoke ring forged for the oxen, and the other one re-beaten, as well as an iron pin for the waggon. Engaged a man named Root at the rate of thirteen piastres per month.

——Left at 6 in the morning on the Canajohary stage, where we arrived at 6 in the evening. We went to look at a very fine store belonging to Mr. Winckop, near the bridge. From there, I went up the creek to see the falls. I noted the simple way in which they managed to make dykes and construct troughs out of planks which rest on the rock of the steep banks, in order to create the waterfall necessary for several mills. This method, applied to the Black and the Castor River, will save much expense. At seven, the stage to White'stown arrived, in which were Messrs. Sorret and Le Normand. They gave me news about our voyagers. It is at Canajohary that the road to Cooperstown and the Susquehannah joins that of the Mohawk. The Cooperstown stage is taken therefore at the same inn. The plains of Canajohary are very fertile and well cultivated by the Germans. This is where the Dutch settlements end and where those of the Germans begin; these latter extend all the way to Fort Schuyler, which has been cleared and populated by Yankees, as has all the region beyond.

Wednesday, 4 May 1796 *Settlement*. Left Fort Schuyler at 9 with Hobby and Hayden conducting the two waggons, & Root chasing the bull and the cow. With Baptiste, I took the horses, and I left the mare at Bagg's for my brother. Dined 8 miles away in a new loghouse, and well furnished. Arrived at Mr. Boon's tavern at 7:30 in the evening. We were sold maize at five pence the quarte [*sic*], thirteen shillings the bushel: two years ago it was worth four.

——Left on the stage to White'stown. Arrived at Bagg's at 7. I found there a letter from my brother, who left in the morning with our men and our livestock. Distance from Canajohary to Fort Schuyler 42 miles.

Thursday, 5 May 1796 *Settlement*. Left Boon's at 6. Breakfasted and dined in the woods with the share of provision with which we were furnished. Arrived, after much trouble crossing the swamps at Goodrich's, thirteen miles from Boon's. Sent Baptiste to Green's, from where he brought back two axes, a half bushel, a drill and a tarpaulin which had been left there last winter.

——I went to White'stown 4 miles from Fort Schuyler to see M. de Caumont, a Frenchman who has a store there. I sought to hire some men; but

they are asking for eighteen and twenty piastres per month instead of eleven and twelve which they were getting last year.

Friday, 6 May 1796 *Settlement*. Sent Root on horseback to look for an axe lost yesterday and which he fortunately found. Green informed us that the yellow cow, lost last autumn, had been found in Steuben and that she had died there of hunger, as well as several others for lack of forage, the farmers not having enough hay to feed them. Our guardians were alerted to come get her, but finding themselves short of fodder, they had preferred to leave her in Steuben. We reached at 10 (3 miles from Goodrich) a new settlement, containing 2 households who had arrived two months ago; we breakfasted there. We got to Topping's without accident at three-thirty. Had all of our mill irons stored in a shed built against Topping's loghouse. Root being a cooper, I had him tighten our barrels of flour and pork, and put on new bands. I then had him put the flour back in the shed. What we did not have a pressing need for was unloaded, and the waggons were reloaded with flour and pork. Finally, everything was readied in order to be able to leave tomorrow very early.

——Having learned that several canal workers wanted to leave, I engaged Mr. Brodhead, who also needed men, to go there while I would stay here to hire those whom chance would bring to me, being unable to leave until the surveyors and their men, who were coming by water, should get here. Between now and then, I was hopeful of getting several recruits.

Saturday, 7 May 1796 *Settlement*. Our livestock having been found early were harnessed, but during breakfast, the cow and the bull disappeared. We went to look for them in different directions. I almost got myself lost in this search. A stream which I had followed as a guide disappeared into the ground; lost without a compass on me, I had to wait until the sun showed itself. I met the road finally, and we arrived at two in Castorland. I sent Root back to Topping's, hoping that the livestock would come back to the loghouse. He did in fact find them, and brought them back at 7 in the evening. The belongings were brought across in the ferry, and all were put undercover and stored before the storm. I found our guardians in good health. The white cow had been crushed in the woods by a falling tree, and the little heifer had been saved, although deprived of its mother's milk; but she was very skinny. The goat had produced two fine kids. We also had two lambs in good health. This winter many Indians came from the Sault St. Louis and from the lake of the two mountains near Montreal. They are Catholic and speak poor French. They conducted themselves well with our people. The surveyor, whom I saw yesterday at Topping's, came with the intention of going down the Black River to go survey the part of Boylston's near the long falls. I lent him one of our canoes. Hobby leaving, I paid him and gave him a letter for my brother and some of M. Tassart's belongings.

——Saw Messrs. Peter Smith, Kyp and Post. Hired two men, who did not keep their word with me.

Sunday, 8 May 1796 *Settlement*. Baptiste conducted our men to the different places where the livestock ordinarily keep themselves. Two pair of oxen were brought back. After bells were attached to them, as well as to the bull and the cow which had been shut in the cowshed with the horses, they were chased out along the river. Robinson and another worker came to see us at noon. During our rounds, we found several squared pieces of wood damaged by the fire which had caught in the woods and spread for about a mile, something which will drive the livestock farther away, there not being any grass in this interval. Finished storing the belongings. Verified the condition of those left last year under the care of Ferlent. In the evening, our men fished unsuccessfully.

——Arrival at Fort Schuyler of the two batteaux and some of our surveyors' men. Return of Messrs. Brodhead and Young, who have not been any more fortunate than I in their recruits, having hired men who did not show up. Mr. Young left for Oneida to try to obtain some Indian workers. I asked him for two for ourselves.

Monday, 9 May 1796 *Settlement*. Our two workers and Ferlent busy felling and cutting up the trees at the end of the enclosure, which we will sow this year and which will be surrounded by logs to protect it from the livestock. Baptiste manured the small garden to sow as a nursery while waiting for the big garden to be enclosed. I made a round on the mountain to view the shingles which I found to be in good condition and fortunately, saved from the fire. The surveyor who had borrowed a canoe returned, having taken his reconnoissance point. The tract of his company is 75,000 acres.

——Worked all day long with the surveyors regarding the directives for the surveying. Decided that three will leave tomorrow with me for the great fall[12] in order to survey upper Castorland, while Messrs. Brodhead and Young will go with the batteaux by way of Lake Ontario for the operation on lower Castorland. Received from Hobby a letter from my brother, informing me of his arrival at the settlement and of the loss of our two cows of last year. I therefore bought one at Mr. Kip's for twenty-seven dollars, not having enough with the one which remained to us.

Tuesday, 10 May 1796 *Settlement*. The surveyor and his men left this morning. They told us they had found the body of a drowned Indian 10 to 12 miles from here, where due to sand banks the river is of little depth. Baptiste went to look for the livestock. He brought them back only at 1:30. He had encountered an Indian hunter who spoke French. Our men felled trees and then lit fires to clear the terrain. In the afternoon, the oxen were used to haul and to pile up the bad logs for burning. I helped our men, who all worked well.

——The work with the surveyors held us up until 9. I left then with three surveyors and 15 men. I arrived toward 2 at Mr. Boon's, who, I discovered, had left for New York to look for his Negroes, who had escaped. It is nearly impossible to keep slaves in this region, where everyone encourages them to

become free, and where the woods and the people are favorable to their escaping. Mr. Mappa received me very well. It seemed to me that the settlement was no longer being driven with the same vigor. At 5, our company having rested, I had them leave for Steuben; but they found themselves so tired out from the poor road that they stayed a mile and a half away at the blacksmith's. In spite of the darkness, I pushed on with Mr. Smith and another surveyor all the way to the Baron's loghouse, where we arrived very tired. Mr. White, Colonel Walker's farmer, the current proprietor, received us as best he could. I delivered to him a letter from the Colonel. I learned of the confirmation of the loss of our cow, dead of hunger in the woods. I found the settlement in somewhat worse shape.

Wednesday, 11 May 1796 *Settlement*. I went to view the meadow and inspected the squared wood, of which, fortunately, very few pieces are seriously damaged. Our people continued the burning. The storm coming on us, I kept them busy sharpening the axes and tools. In the evening, trees were cut, branches were piled up in the area cleared.

——Our people having rejoined us at 6, and there not being any bread at Mr. White's, we pushed ¾ mile further on, to Platt's, in order to breakfast. We left from there at 9, and I arrived at 5 in the evening at Topping's, 6 and a half miles from Castorland, after having got stuck in the mud twice with my horse, the last time at the exit from Sugar Creek, where I was in great peril if I had not thrown my overcoat over my horse's head, which kept it from thrashing about. Our men and surveyors arrived, one after another. I gave them a barrel of flour, which they immediately began to stave in, having found nothing to eat on the road since this morning.

Thursday, 12 May 1796 Branches were burned. My brother and Peck's young brother arrived toward 9 in the morning; a moment later, Mr. Smith and the 2 other surveyors. Baptiste went to look for the oxen as soon as it was morning, brought them back a little before dinner, after which we had Baptiste, Hayden and 2 of the surveyors' men go to Topping's to get two loads of provisions. Root and Ferlent continued the burning. My brother had met on the road young Peck, who was coming to settle about the lumber. Accordingly, they spent the day counting and estimating the 4100 feet according to the business agreement. They were in agreement. Adding to all the setbacks which we have experienced—our guardians having set fire, 15 days ago yesterday, to the wood felled for the clearing last autumn—a violent south wind rose, and we found many pieces damaged by the fire which spread for two and a half miles.

Gave Peck six pounds as an advance and settled his days at 6 shillings, although he claimed a dollar.

Friday, 13 May 1796 Examined the area cleared. Arranged the papers. Gave the surveyors more detailed instructions. In the afternoon, our waggons

came back loaded with flour, pork and the pipe of spirit[s]. I gave the surveyors three barrels of flour and two of pork, in order to enable them to leave right away. Bread was baked, and the departure was made ready. At noon, the rest of the surveyors' men appeared, with the cow bought from Mr. Kip. Continued to burn and cut.

Saturday, 14 May 1796 At ten our three surveyors finally left to begin their operation. I lent them a surveyor's chain. They left us 2 men to aid in transporting the provisions from Topping's, to make their bread and, from there, bring it down by canoe to the falls[13] at Beaver River. The spring located down below our house was uncovered today for the first time since the high waters of last September, the river having constantly maintained itself above. The sand bank is still underwater. The spring flooding was not as high as the flooding last September. Baptiste and Root repaired our old waggon. Heyden and Ferlent continued burning and clearing. Many small flies. Rainstorm. Thunder.

Sunday, 15 May 1796 Rest for our men. Caught some trout. Baptiste killed a sea-gull, a water bird the size of a pigeon: the feathers a dazzling white; the tip of the wings, black; the down, silvery gray. The flesh has a fishy taste and is unpleasant. Caish, who worked for us two years ago,[14] came with two other men this afternoon. One of them, named Calvin Nichols, engaged himself with us for 3 months. Cash promised us to come back as soon as a business agreement for shingles which he has undertaken, is completed. He is an excellent worker with whom we have been very satisfied.

Monday, 16 May Cash and his comrade left at 5 in the morning. Nichols, who is staying with us, works as a blacksmith by trade. At 10, Robinson, whom we employed last year, came with Miller, one of our neighbors. They started to make a canoe with the intention of going down to view Boylston's lands. Sent Baptiste to get the oxen, to go to Topping's; he could not find them. Mr. Smith's men returned for supplies. Baptiste brought back a wild duck. The river has risen by two feet. The men cut and burned. Baptiste repaired the hedge around the little garden.

Tuesday, 17 May 1796 Baptiste, having returned very early in the morning from his search for the oxen, led them back early, and then, after breakfast, they were brought over to the other side. We had the waggons and men leave right away, hoping to see them again this evening if they do not encounter any accident. And in fact, at 6 in the evening, Baptiste and our 3 men came back, bringing us 6 barrels of flour, one of rice and one of maize, plus three fork irons. Ferlent continued to burn brush.

Wednesday, 18 May 1796 Used the morning to have the angular terrain between the stable and the road dug up and leveled in order to construct a small separate cowshed there which will be used at the same time to close off

this section. The rain having arisen towards noon, used the men to take up all the stones of the hearth in the old loghouse, in order to be able to put in there a new joist and to refloor this spot. We will have a Franklin stove brought in, with its pipe, to be used instead of a chimney. At 7, two of the surveyors' men came back with a letter from Mr. Newman, asking to borrow an axe, his own having been broken.

Thursday, 19 May 1796 Gave the two men the axe which they are asking for, with a letter for Mr. Smith. Baptiste finished repairing the garden hedge; then he left to look for the oxen to haul the logs intended for raising the small cowshed. Aligned the road, which will be 33 feet wide. We will furnish half of it. The earth from the excavating used to embank it. Nichols acting sick, I had him take hypecacuanha, and forbade him the rum. This regimen took away his taste for lounging next to the fire. Had logs sawn for the small cowshed, which will be used as a fence for the garden at the same time. That done, the fences will be continued all along the road, which is marked.

Robinson and Miller having dragged to the water a hollowed-out tree that looked more like a small feeding-trough than a canoe, and two other men having joined them, they loaded their provisions and, in spite of our advice, got the four of themselves into this small canoe. Scarcely had they left the shore when they tipped over. They were not too far from the water's edge, fortunately. They got off with a dunking and the loss of their powder, their lead and a part of their provisions. Nichols, seeing that he had to work, chose to leave us then. He left without saying anything, and we did not run after him. Robinson and Miller, whom we have received as neighbors, tried to hire away our men and are creating fears in them about the region, the flies, etc. They have greatly helped Nichols to leave us, and brought him over to the other side.

Baptiste set up a hotbed[15] for the garden.

Friday, 20 May 1796 Robinson and Miller, the son, having succeeded in frightening our two men by their talk, got them to ask for their pay, insasmuch as Miller offered them fifteen piastres at his father's. When they came to tell me, I made them my reproaches, leaving them their liberty however; but I got them to finish beforehand transporting our provisions, which we could not leave at Topping's without risk, and which it would have been impossible for us to get before having procured more men for ourselves, something which was very difficult and even doubtful. I sent to get the oxen. During this time, Robinson offered to conduct them at the rate of one dollar per day. I told him that that made clear to me his real motive for hiring away our men, but that I did not need his services. Our waggons having left, Ferlent kept busy continuing the clearing.

Saturday, 21 May 1796 Miller's conduct was the reason that, when Mr. Stow[16] and others of his company arrived, I rented them a canoe, which

they asked me for; otherwise, I would have loaned it to them instead, as I had done previously. They left at 10 in the morning.

Peck and his brother arrived toward 3. I settled with them. Our waggons came back at 4 thirty, and brought back 5 barrels of flour, one of maize, and one of lard.

Sunday, 22 May Rest for our men. At two, there arrived five men, who are coming to survey Inman's square into lots.

Monday, 23 May 1796 Baptiste went out early in the morning to look for the oxen. At 7:30 they had crossed over to the other side; and our waggons, gone to Topping's. We hope to bring the rest of our provisions on this trip. Mr. Brown, a surveyor for Inman's square, left this morning to make the division into lots of 500 acres. Ferlent made a rope out of linden bark.

Tuesday, 24 May Our two waggons arrived only at 3 after noon, having been stopped by the rain. They brought back 8 barrels of pork and 25 lbs of maple sugar, bought at Robinson's. Gave Hayden and Root their pay, settled Ferlent's account. We find ourselves without workers. Ferlent is busy around the house with one of Mr. Boon's men, who, having arrived too late, is waiting for them here. He works for us in exchange for his food. With Ferlent, he picks up wood shavings and branches in order to burn them and clean up the ground.

At 7 in the evening, Mr. Brodhead's waggoner arrived: he brought only three barrels of flour, leaving one of them in the woods on his way, in order to lighten the load for the oxen who are very tired.

Wednesday, 25 May 1796 The waggoner delivered to us two letters for Mr. Brodhead. Sent Baptiste on horseback to Fort Schuyler; he is carrying our letters and must come back by way of Fort Stanwix with whatever men he can hire along his way.

Ferlent, seeing that everyone is leaving, also asked us for his pay. His time is over the 1st of June: I left it up to him. In the evening, Mr. Brown returned with his company to get more provisions. Mr. Brown's man and Ferlent have cut into smaller lengths some trees along the river.

Thursday, 26 May 1796 Mr. Brown left this morning to get provisions. Mr. Crosby, the other surveyor, returned to work and brought with him the man who was waiting for them.

We have stretched out, as a float line, the cord made of linden bark. To this cord are hanging 30 lines, each with its own bait. Mr. Smith arrived to dine with us; he will leave as soon as his provision is ready.

On the Beaver River, Mr. Smith met some Indians from Canada who were hunting as they returned and who told him that, while going up the Beaver River all the way to the Lake, from where it issues, one could make a portage to another river which went down to St. Regis on the St. Lawrence River. He

came back here in an Indian bark canoe which he found hidden near the falls on the Beaver River. The lands which they have surveyed to now are generally good. Jarry and his comrade, Mr. Smith's men, arrived at 4, bringing back our large canoe. They brought back for us some clay to repair our oven.

Ferlent burned branches in the clearing.

Friday, 27 May 1796 I decided to go down to the Beaver River in order to trace out the site for Castorville. I took advantage of the opportunity of Mr. Smith with all the more pleasure in that finding ourselves without workers for the moment, I had leisure to absent myself. I had Ferlent make stakes for the tent, which I had them repair.

Bought ten bushels of potatoes from Bingham. Delivered to Mr. Smith a barrel of pork. Made my dispatches for Mr. Brodhead, to whom I sent his pay, and some directives for choosing the location of the city of Niaouré, either on the bay or at the basin of the falls[17] lower down, in the event that the river bar is passable for sloops.

Saturday, 28 May 1796 We were supposed to leave at daybreak. Toward 4 in the morning, Mr. Smith noticed that one of his men had deserted. He immediately crossed to the other side and caught up with him at Topping's. This man had a rifle and took aim at Mr. Smith who, calmly and without flinching, took the rifle away from him and brought him back, making him walk in front. He returned from his expedition at 8, and left with my brother at 8:45, the canoe loaded with pork and biscuit.

At 11½, an Indian and his son arrived. They come from the Lake of the Two Mountains and speak a little French. They went down by way of Moose River, which connects also by a portage with a river that goes down into Lake St. François: but they say that there are many falls to get by. They had a small *orignal* (Moose deer) with them, which was alive, which they left at the house while they left to go on another hunting expedition.

At 9 in the evening, Messrs. Stow and Miller arrived in a canoe. They had met my brother 12 miles from here. They examined our house on the long falls, and found it in good condition. They came upon the canoe, made of skins, belonging to the drowned Indian. They brought back the 2 moose skins which formed this canoe, as well as several furs. I believe that that was the real reason for their trip, as a rumor was being spread around that this Indian had a lot of money on him.

Journey. Left in the large canoe with Mr. Smith and his two men. The rain was nearly constant. At noon, about 12 miles from the fall, we met the persons to whom we had rented a canoe to go down to the long falls. At 2:30 we disembarked at the mouth of Independence River. I visited again this place, the setting of which is charming and which my friend had chosen for building his home. The azaleas in full bloom perfumed the air.

I dined with a piece of dry bread in the French custom, the others ate uncooked fat pork in the American custom, while we warmed ourselves at a

fire made of dry wood, as we were stiff and cold from the wetness, rain and lack of movement which one has to maintain while in the canoe. At three-thirty reimbarked and rowed until 5:30.[18] Then, estimating that we were still 2 or 3 miles from the mouth of the Beaver River, and night approaching, we landed to have time to pitch the tent and light a fire before dark. We had to camp on wet ground, there being no other choice. After much difficulty, we succeeded in lighting a good fire, and we dried out our clothes, which were soaked from the rain.

Sunday, 29 May 1796 *Settlement*. Messrs. Stow and Miller left as soon as it was morning. I gave them Mr. Smith's letters for Fort Stanwix. The old Indian, back from the hunt, explained to me that they call the Black River Căgĭnāgōhă.[19] At nine, two workers hired by Baptiste at the rate of fourteen dollars, arrived with a letter from him. As it was agreed to pay them for their journey, they did not spare themselves, and their travel expenses come to 5 dollars, 4 sh. 10 pence. The Indian having given me some beaver, I found this meat to be rather good, it having a taste of wildfowl[20] and needing some seasoning. I saw the Indian fish. He baited the line with the red flowers of the azalea (*chevrefeuille américain*).

Put the men to work clearing out the woods so we could haul logs.

Journey. Reimbarked at 6. At 8, we reached the mouth of Castor River, where Mr. Smith dropped off a barrel of flour, to pick it up again when going down to the Long falls. He had a bark canoe hauled out of the woods, which we dragged after us to bring it across above the falls, and to use it to explore the river as far up as we can go. This river is 30 feet deep at its mouth in the Black River, and 2 chains (132 English feet) wide. Left at 8 thirty. Arrived at noon at the foot of the falls, which are really only a series of rapids and cascades about a half-mile long, and at the top of which is a fall of 5 to 6 feet. We estimated at about 8 miles the distance from the mouth to the foot of the falls. The river narrows progressively to one chain (66 English feet) in width, and to 4 to 5 feet deep. Bottom generally silty, rock and gravel up to two miles below the fall. At about 3 miles from the mouth, a bank of rock crosses the river, but fortunately leaves a channel for boats on the right side. We took advantage of brief interruptions of rain to examine the falls and the site for Castorville. Two small islands located on the right side will be used to create two canals to feed the mills and allow boats to pass through at little expense. The rocks which border the river and pave its bed assure the solidity of the constructions, which will dampen the rapids and, by means of two locks, will make navigation easy. Another waterfall above, being only three feet, will be managed in the same way. Our surveyors found the river navigable several miles above. This is one of the routes used by the Indians to get to Montreal with their bark canoes. Used the evening in giving instructions to Mr. Smith on the plan for the city which he was to measure on site. I set its location along the falls and its area at 250 acres, reserving the remain-

ing 250 acres for the city of Niaouré, which we will establish in lower Castorland.

Monday, 30 May 1796 *Settlement*. As soon as it was morning, put the two workers to work raising the fences, beginning at the corner of the little building planned behind the stable, and which could not be continued, only one pair of oxen having been found yesterday and today. At 11, Baptiste arrived with three other workers. After dinner the Indian went to look for the oxen but was not any more successful.

In spite of the rain, fences have already been raised over a good length.

Journey. Mr. Smith's men not having been found yesterday at the rendezvous as it had been agreed upon, we could not operate for lack of compasses, and I engaged him to leave at 6 to go to their camp on the cardinal line two miles from here. He left with one man, and I stayed under the tent waiting for him, the rain still falling. At noon, Mr. Smith's employees arrived: he had a message for me, to go meet up with him at the top of the fall, where he was beginning his operation. I took the path which the Indians to make their portage have marked out; but getting lost, I arrived at the fall only after Mr. Smith had left. I stayed in spite of the mosquitoes more than a quarter of an hour contemplating the ravishing view which the river offers in this site, and I admired the degree to which Nature can vary her ever sublime forms. This is not an impetuous torrent massively hurling itself from a summit 63 feet high, as at the great fall; nor a swirling chaos, the image of Nature's power to destroy and overwhelm, as at the long fall, where the river takes more than a mile and a half to cascade down the same height that the great fall drops in less than twenty *toises*.

The waterfall here is one which the art of Le Nôtre could never equal.[21] This fall at least five feet in height is divided by different islets of tree- and green-covered rock which produce as many cascades of varying forms. The larger surge of churning water rushes majestically into the middle, and the others act as its accompaniment. The tranquility of the waters in the upper basin, which like a mirror reflects the small islets of rock and green that are scattered in it, is in contrast with the lower basin, rocky and foaming. The location of the cascade on the city side seems almost deliberate. A canal need only be supplied here to conduct the waters into the city, to have these turn a saw-mill and also feed a lock so that boats can be raised or lowered. The time of year augmented still more the charm of this spectacle. The azaleas, adorned with bouquets of pink flowers smelling of honeysuckle; the flowering hawthorn, but in this country odorless; species of iris, golden-rod, purple and yellow bellflowers, violets and martagons spangle the contours of the basins and islets and adorned them with the most brilliant colors. I returned to camp by following the river in order to examine further the position of the islands and the potential for making canals, which will be used twofold, for boats and for mills. Upon my return, I found Mr. Newman, one of the surveyors. He

gave me a very satisfactory report of the terrain which he had surveyed. He added that the Indians' information was false or that we had misunderstood, since the surveyors had found many falls in the river, among others one which he estimates to be 100 feet high. He had found the terrain generally good and large expanses of excellent plains. The river does not divide itself into two branches, as Mr. Cockburn had noted down. Our men have found only a rather large creek coming from the southwest. They have not yet encountered the branch of the Oswegatchee; but they are only at the half-way point of their operation, which they count on finishing in three weeks. I gave Mr. Newman specific instructions for the things which I desired that he note down, such as the limestone, white clay, minerals, etc. He told me that he had found a very pure deposit of iron in several places.

Mr. Smith came back and had his company leave with the provisions. In the afternoon, he continued his operation: but we found neither the creek nor the route which the surveyor Mitchel had noted down last year; which made us presume that he had taken the upper fall, two miles distant, for this one, all the more so as we noticed that it was incorrectly placed on the instruction map drawn up last year by M. Pharoux. Accordingly, to rectify, we searched for a corner tree, and at about a half-mile, we found the tree marked 13. 1 [2] 3 and 4.[22] Following that, in order not to disturb the lots, I ordered Mr. Smith to take this line as a base for his operation, and if it should give him too much terrain, to go back by 22 ch. 37 links, the length of a sub-divided lot. If he lacked any terrain, he was to take one subdivision more. We will give for the city the length of a great square, 67[23] chains, 11 links, by a width of about 40 chains, which makes a half-mile. In the evening, repeated and laid out in detail all of my instructions to Mr. Smith. I am very satisfied with his intelligence and his honesty. He will send me back by Mr. Brodhead, for whom I gave him my dispatches, the map and the fieldbooks.

Tuesday, 31 May 1796 *Settlement*. Work was continued on raising fences. In the evening, all of our livestock, tormented by insects, came back by themselves. Whereupon they were harnessed, and the logs were hauled, and the fencing continued to the foot of the plateau.

Baptiste, aided by the old Indian, completed the hotbed in the garden.

Journey. Left at 4 thirty in the morning. Arrived at 6 at the mouth of the Castor River. I was in fact counting on going to the Independence River to spend the night there. But I had not taken American laziness into account. Three rowers (and we carried no load) found a way to row for 6 hours from morning until 7 in the evening, to make ten miles on water as placid as on a lake. It is true that they used only one hand, and a nonchalant one at that, and seemed to caress the surface of the waves. I had to resign myself, especially as these men were not ones that I had hired myself.

Wednesday, First of June 1796 *Settlement*. The planting of the maize was begun, while with the oxen, the other men made the fence at a right angle

from the foot of the plateau up to the river. Baptiste worked on the garden and made the section of fence that descends from the corner of the loghouse to the river. Seeing so many people, the old Indian went to camp at some distance from the house, where he built his fire.

Journey. I had much difficulty in getting my men to embark at 6 in the morning. They used, alternately, oar, pole, sail, and with all of these combined, managed to make 14 miles in the course of the day. Disembarked at 7:30, two miles below Otter Creek. We had every opportunity to be eaten by the mosquitoes, and all the more so, as due to another consequence of the men's laziness, they were satisfied with making the fire with some dead wood that they gathered instead of taking the trouble to cut some down. And so this fire went out an hour after everyone had gone to bed. Very fortunately, I had the tent.

Thursday, 2 June 1796 *Settlement*. Planting the maize in the enclosure was finished this morning. The bad logs, gathered into piles by the oxen, were burned. One man kept the fires going, while the four others planted. Then, the digging of the site of the large garden was begun. The place for the hotbed was also fenced.

Journey. Left at 4 in the morning, and with effort, made ten miles in eight[24] hours, so that we arrived finally at the great fall at noon. Two years ago, going downriver, I made the trip to the long falls, 45 miles, in one day; going upriver, in a day and a half. At my arrival, pleasantly surprised to see our enclosure fenced in and sown.

Friday, 3 June 1796 Sent early in the morning to get the horses, in order to go get potatoes at Bingham's. The mare came back this morning with a fine filly born yesterday. Continued tending the fire. Used 3 pair of oxen to haul and bring the large logs for building. Resumed fencing a new enclosure on the plateau. At two, arrival of Mr. Mitchel, surveyor for Mr. Constable. He is going to run lines nos. 1, 2, and 3 from his patent, and two from the Townships [on][25] the Oswegatchee. At 3, Baptiste, Ferlent and one of our men came back with the horses, bringing the potatoes. Mr. Brown and his hired men arrived and left in order to procure more provisions.

Saturday, 4 June 1796 At noon, Edmond, who was charged with Mr. Boon's settlement, and the clerk at the new store which Mr. Boon has set up there, came to see us. The Indian, back with his son, sold them his little moose for 30 piastres. Our workers continued to fence the second enclosure. We relieve each other in turn, in order to never leave the workers alone: which does not seem to be to their liking.

Sunday, 5 June 1796 Rest for our men. They have complained that we were always watching over them, adding that they were not children and would work well all by themselves. I answered them that good workers were

not annoyed that one watch them work; that, moreover, it was our custom; that paying and feeding our people well, we were quite happy that they should keep busy. I foresee therefore that they will not stay for long. But as the fences are finished and the terrain sown, we will be able to do without them easily. As labor costs ten times more than what the product yields, it is really a saving to have the least possible done and just what is necessary to procure food for oneself. For two years now, I have been persuaded that settlements made by Companies or private individuals who pay workers are foolish and ruinous enterprises.

Monday, 6 June 1796 Kept four men busy planting peas and potatoes. Ferlent has left this morning intending to go look for a job elsewhere. He will have much difficulty doing so in the weak state in which he finds himself. My brother and Baptiste went on horseback with the other worker to collect the rest of the potatoes at Bingham's.

Tuesday, 7 June 1796 Two men came to view Inman's lands and made us proposals for ours: in the evening, they returned. Our workers have finished the long fence for the second enclosure, which ends at the river.

Wednesday, 8 inst In order to make the fence higher, which our horses jump over to get into the maize, had a forth row of small logs placed on crossed poles. It is starting to rain, the men were put to work digging a cellar under the kitchen and grinding tools.

Thursday, 9 inst With the help of the oxen, had all the branches in the new enclosure burned and the bad logs piled up. Had the good logs which cannot be used for building lumber or fence cut up into firewood. Had cord-wood piled up on the site intended for the road. Saw fireflies for the first time this year, the nights having been too cool up till now. Caught two turtles full of eggs.

Friday, 10 inst John Croker[26] and Luther Clozen, two of our hired men, asked for their pay and received each seven dollars for their half-month; because they had stayed such a brief time, I did not pay their travel expenses: to this they consented. Our fences being finished, we can manage with the three who remain to us. Continued the same kind of work as yesterday. In the evening set fire to three large piles of hemlocks.

Saturday, 11 inst Maintained the fires. Planted beans, peas, maize and potatoes in the new enclosure. Gave Topping a gallon of rum, a price which he limited himself to, for storing our belongings at his place last winter. Had a *smoke house* (*petit bâtiment pour fumer la viande salée*) dug by Baptiste. Piled up and burned the brush on the plateau. Gave Holland seven and a half dollars for his fifteen days. We are down to two workers.

Sunday, 12 June 1796 Rest for our men. Fishing and hunting rather good.

Monday, 13 inst Cut some logs and piled up branches, which was set on fire in order to clear the terrain in the second enclosure, which remains for us to sow. Had all the wood for heating set to one side, and piled up the scrap wood for burning. Baptiste made the wood frame for the smoke house.

Tuesday, 14 inst Had all the wood to be burned hauled by the oxen and placed into one pile. Continued same kind of work as yesterday, and the smoke house.

Wednesday, 15 inst Same kind of work. Finished piling up the scrap wood, which was set on fire this evening.

Thursday, 16 June 1796 At eight in the morning there arrived two persons to view Inman's lands. The bad weather engaged them to leave at two. A storm interrupted the work. Had the tools repaired and the garden dug during intervals of good weather.

Friday, 17 inst Had the fires raked and relit; had the rest of the logs to be burned, hauled and piled up; then the cleared earth sown with oats and *pumpkins* (*citrouille indienne*). Had a little barley sown also. Ferlent came back from his trip and noticing that we were in no hurry to make him any offers, found himself quite happy to remain with us on the same terms as last year; which we did only out of concern for his family, which he is not in a condition to support.

Saturday, 18 June 1796 Our large canoe having got loose, we sent Ferlent and Baptiste in the smaller one; they found it about six miles away, and brought it back at one after noon. Our two workers continued to sow and hoe oats. In the afternoon, Baptiste finished and fenced the smoke house, where hams were then placed to be smoked. Our ram got killed in the cowshed, the rack having fallen on his head. At 9, one of the persons who came Thursday to see Inman's lands came back. This man told us that he was coming to wait for Mr. Greenlee, his associate, who had given him rendez-vous here. We saw many pigeons flying by. We killed nine.

Sunday, 19 inst Rest. At 11, Wampy, an Indian who worked with our surveyors two years ago, arrived from Fort Stanwix.[27] He had a written note from Mr. Brodhead, which authorized him to hire men for him, but he had not been able to procure any. Mr. Brodhead found only 4 to 5 men in King'stown. Wampy left at noon to rejoin him at Penet's square. I took advantage of this opportunity to write him. Our 2 men and the land-visitor, whose name is Elijah Croker, went by canoe to see the lands downriver and brought us back a rather nice turtle. Killed eleven pigeons.

Monday, 20 June 1796 Croker, while waiting for his companion to come back, offered to work at the rate of 4 shillings per day. We accepted. Had beans planted and peas in the new enclosure. Baptiste repaired and raised up

the fence behind the cowshed in order to keep the goats in, who kept getting over it. He then cleaned out the spring, added a second barrel and raised the quay so that the spring would not be covered over during the water's normal risings. This water is very cold and excellent.

Tuesday, 21 June 1796 Continued to plant peas. Closed the entrance of the fence for the second enclosure; the horses having again got over the fences to reach the maize, we had to have these fences raised by means of crossed poles, on the top of which long poles were placed. Marguerite made soap. Baptiste worked on the fountain.

Wednesday, 22 June Finished building up with poles the fences all along the road. Croker, having got tired of working and waiting for his associate, left on the pretense that the flies were unbearable. Our two men planted peas and beans. Made up our dispatches. Baptiste is to carry them to Fort Schuyler and try to bring men, since of the two who remain to us, one will leave next week, and we need people to raise several buildings this year and make the hay.

Thursday, 23 inst Our two workers finished sowing the new enclosure. I then put them to work hoeing the maize.

Friday, 24 inst Same kind of work. At 6 in the evening, Mr. Brodhead and one of his men arrived. Conferred on the operations for surveying.

Saturday, 25 inst Mr. Brodhead left with his man for Fort Schuyler. He is to see Cretendon on the way, to urge him to finish our road. From there, he will embark his provisions and the men that he can procure in order to rejoin his company on the Portuguese peninsula. Our workers continued to hoe the maize.

Sunday, 26 June 1796 Caught a large turtle. Found in the enclosure some pieces of Indian pottery. Warren hired on for a month at 14 dollars. Meharis, whom Baptiste had hired at 15, hired on for the second month at 14, the price which we have decided on for the campaign.

Monday, 27 inst Warren, who had hired on again yesterday, asked today for his pay, saying that he could no longer endure the flies which indeed are cruel. While digging, each stroke of the mattock that they give brings out swarms which bloody hands, face and neck. It did seem singular to us however, that having hired on again the day before, he left the next day. But in the woods, we have to comply with what these people want. Paid balance eleven doll. three sh. six pence.

Tuesday, 28 inst Meharis, our sole worker, finding himself attacked by erysipelas in the legs, could not work, and was purged. At eleven, there arrived a man named Angot, a French laborer settled in German Flats. Baptiste had hired him. Angot gave us a letter from him, in which he notes

that men being very scarce and expensive, he went to Fort Schuyler to get our letters and will come back by way of Fort Stanwix, from where he will bring back François Sabarin, the Canadian who has already worked for us, and those whom he can recruit.

At 2, Crosby, surveyor for Mr. Brown, arrived with three men. They left at three to go up the Black River. Crosby gave us our letters from Fort Schuyler, among others, one from Madame Desjardins, who writes us that our two cows, stolen in Albany, have been brought back and that she has sent them on to us by a man who was supposed to bring them to Mr. Post's on May 30. As we are the 28th of June, it is very much to be feared that they will be found to have been stolen a second time.

At nine in the evening, as we were leaving table, Marguerite sent James Meharis to get some water at the spring, at the foot of the house. He came back saying that the small canoe was untied, that he had heard a sound like rowing and noticed that the canoe was in the middle of the river. We joked about him seeing things and told him that he was the one who had forgotten to tie it up in the evening, no one being able to come from our side, which is completely uninhabited all the way to the St. Lawrence. We went to the water's edge, and I sent Meharis and Angot to get the large canoe in order to get the smaller one which we saw drifting; this confirmed us in our idea that no one had taken it. We went to bed a half-hour later. Upon entering the study and wishing to set my hat down on the small trunk, which is on our desk and in which we keep our money and papers, I felt that it was no longer there. I immediately cried out: *We have been robbed!*, and I went to the other loghouse which serves as our kitchen to ask for some light. A lamp was lit, and we saw indeed that the trunk was no longer there but everything else had been left undisturbed and no sign of breakage. Having only two men with us, one of whom (Meharis) could not walk, and the night being dark and rainy, we judged useless our crossing the river to search the woods for the thief, who could only have been one of the men who has worked here and knew the sentry-hours for the house and where our belongings were kept. My brother made several rounds, lit a fire, and we spent the night in unpleasant reflections. We cast our suspicions on Warren, who left us yesterday in the evening and had spent the day on Sunday roaming about on the water in the small canoe. He had even put two pegs on the stern, most likely to make less noise, by making the canoe move with only a single oar at the rear, like a sloop. We supposed that he would therefore withdraw into the woods, where he would break open the chest to get the money out and be off with it. We planned to go searching at daybreak.

Wednesday, 29 June 1796 As soon as it was day, we noticed that our watches had also been stolen. We found the thief's track and followed it and saw that he was indeed alone. We separated to retrace his steps. My brother noticed them along the enclosure. The thief had crossed the river by fording it

a mile and a half below the house in a location where a bar of sand and rock makes the river fordable in low water. He had then come along the riverbank, where he had hidden himself, waiting for the moment when he knew that everyone being at supper in the building where the kitchen is located, there was no one left in the house. The thief had climbed over the fence which surrounds the enclosure and over the one which separates the hotbed from the garden below our windows. He had then opened the door of this enclosure and gone to see if the canoe was in place; from there, he had come back to the hotbed and had raised the sash of the window in the study, from where he had withdrawn the chest which was on the desk to the right of the window and unhooked our watches hanging on the corner of the same window. I crossed over in the canoe with Marguerite and Meharis, to try to find the trunk and follow the thief's tracks. I sent Ferlent to get the horses. My brother and Angot got ready to leave immediately upon our return. The thief had landed on the shore opposite the house. The slope being very steep and the night very rainy, we easily recognized his tracks on the ground as well as the marks left by the chest. Just as I had predicted, Meharis found the chest after a few moments of searching. He called out. I joined him. We saw that the thief had used a tool to break open the chest-top and remove its contents. In order to examine them he had lit a fire, and for this purpose had made use of a portion of our papers and maps. We found the transit, the large water level made of copper and several other items scattered here and there. I also found several coins and papers, as well as my accounts. We returned everything to the chest through the broken top and, with a great deal of effort, brought it down to the foot of the slope. During this time, Marguerite had followed the thief's tracks. He had continued his way over the plateau, crossed the little creek from the landing and climbed the slope to our road where his footprints were clearly impressed into the sand; but at the junction of the road to Fort Stanwix with the road to Steuben, it was impossible to make them out further.

Upon my return, I wrote up the below inventory of the items stolen. I translated it into English and gave it to my brother, whom I sent with Angot on horseback in pursuit. They will go all the way to Fort Stanwix, where I fear that the thief might find a batteau in time to get to Canada. My brother will have the theft put into the public papers. From Ferlent I borrowed five dollars which I gave to my brother for his expenses and Angot's.

Inventory of the items stolen

—400 dollars belonging to M. Olive in bills of the Bank of New York.

—180 dollars belonging to the Company in bills *idem*.

—20 dollars in silver.

—A packet of money, found afterwards by count to total 5 dollars.

—6 sh. 4 pence, and coming from the sale of rum and furnishings to people passing by.

—two pocket compasses.

—a small microscope, in a morocco-leather case lined with red velvet.

—a pocket case, very small, of mathematical instruments.

—an artificial magnet.

—printed maps from the Land's [*sic*] office of Messrs. Desjardins and Ledet.

—a gold watch from Julien LeRoy of Paris, with a seal engraved in carnelian and set in a gold mounting.[28]

—a silver second watch from Effingham Embree of New York.[29]

—A gorget and a French officer's decoration, with braid and gold button: the gorget and decoration of gilded copper and the arms plated in silver.

After my brother's departure, I decided to go back up on the slope to see whether we might not find some other items, the rain and the mosquitoes having greatly hindered us. We crossed over again and also found several important papers, the steel of our artificial magnet, several doses of drugs and the handle with part of the iron from the tool which the thief had used to stave in the chest's top. While coming back, we heard someone call out for the ferry. It was the surveyor Brown. We brought the canoe back up in order to get him, together with his men. I informed Mr. Brown what had happened to us. He assured me that he knew the thief; that he was a man named Elijah Croker; that, on his way here, he had met him the day before yesterday in the woods; and that he had left them to take the road to Fort Stanwix instead of continuing with them. I remembered immediately that this rascal had twice come to Castorland, the second time eight days ago, on Saturday. He stayed there until Tuesday morning, having offered to work for us at 4 shillings per day. Meharys told me that Warren and Croker had seemed to him to be good friends, and as he had gone down the river with them, most likely to look for a fordable spot, he added that, right in front of him, they talked about their dexterity at stealing. Warren had already told us that there was no hell and that he did not believe in God, etc. I had no doubt that these two characters had come to some understanding. Warren stayed in order to facilitate everything for the other. He probably met up with him at the rendez-vous, the Monday evening of his departure, when he probably gave him his latest information. From there, he went to Hobbard's, where he struck a bargain for timber. He expects that suspicion will fall on him; but nothing can be said against him, it being known to witnesses that he stayed at

Hobbard's, and while he becomes an object of useless suspicion, the other will get away.

Mr. Brown not being able to absent himself, he offered me one of his men to run after the real thief, whom he knew too: our horses having left, I had Mr. Brodhead's summoned, which I gave him, along with three dollars for his expenses, which I again borrowed from Ferlent. I gave to Mr. Brown's man a copy of the inventory of the theft and the handle from the thief's tool. Mr. Brown left with this man toward 10, to go all the way to Topping's to get provisions. I requested of this man, if he were to encounter my brother and Angot, to have them come back. At seven in the evening, Mr. Brown came back, but he brought me no news about my brother.

Journey. Left early in the morning on horseback with Angot in pursuit of the thief. The new road not being yet practicable for horses, we had to pass by way of Topping's residence, and we regained the old road to Fort Stanwix by way of Hobbard's house. The information obtained at his home gave us no light. Finally, having reached the junction of the old road to Fort Stanwix with the new, we found some fresh tracks coming from the new road. This made us redouble our diligence, hoping to catch up with the thief. We were forced to stop at Cretendon's to rest our starving horses. While we were eating a bit, a storm arose which made the tracks more difficult to recognize. Moreover, the land being settled here, it was no longer possible to distinguish them from the others. Continued on our way and arrived in Fort Stanwix at sunset. I met Baptiste who was returning from Oneida Lake. As he lacked money, I gave him three dollars. I spoke to 2 Canadians to hire them. Saw Mr. Brodhead, who leaves tomorrow for King'stown. I gave him a copy of the note of the theft, so that he could have it brought to Canada.

Thursday, 30 June 1796 Meharis, cured of his erysipelas, was put to work hoeing the maize. Ferlent is bedridden. His sickness seems to be getting serious, and he is in a very weakened state. Mr. Brown and his people spent the day in making their preparations for the woods. No news from my brother. Four of Mr. Brown's men helped to hoe the maize for a little bit of the rum which I gave them.

Journey. I gave one of the horses to Baptiste, whom I sent to White'stown to have the notice of the theft put in the public papers. He will come back by way of Fort Schuyler and the Steuben road, in order to make searches and to alert in that direction. Hired the two Canadians at 14 dollars per month; I left at seven with them and Angot. Dined at Cretendon's, where I met Mr. Brown's man, whom my brother sent after the thief. This man brought me up to date on the affair and told me that my brother urged me to come back as soon as possible. Spent the night in the middle of the woods, in a clearing where I found a small shelter. Our men pushed on further, believing themselves near Hobbard's house.

Friday, 1st July 1796 I got up at daybreak. I did not find my horse, but I noticed its tracks on the road to Hobbard's, from which I was two miles away. I went there, and I found our three men, who had also slept in the woods, a quarter mile from the house, because of the darkness and the danger of crossing the swamps and bogs which are full of fallen trees, besides the danger of getting lost in the small paths, which cannot be distinguished at night. Our men had stopped my horse at Hobbard's. After breakfasting, we left and arrived at noon in Castorland.

After dinner, Angot and the two Canadians helped Meharis to hoe Indian corn.

Saturday, 2 July 1796 Our 4 men finished hoeing the maize in the two enclosures and began to hoe the peas. At four, Baptiste arrived with Mr. Merrell, a merchant in New Hartford, near White'stown.[30] He told us that according to the notice that I had sent by Trull, and which he had shown him, he had decided to have Croker arrested as his debtor, out of fear that he leave the next day for New York, which Mr. Merrell suspected was his intention. Croker had offered to lend him 400 piastres and had already cashed with him two notes of ten piastres. He had asked also to cash one of a hundred, which had given him his first suspicions. I thanked Mr. Merrell and decided to leave immediately with him, if he were not too tired. Mr. Merrell consented; I borrowed 5 dollars from Baptiste. We got on horseback at 6 and went to spend the night at Topping's.

Sunday, 3 July 1796 Rest for our men. Miller's son came with two others on the pretense of wanting to fish. They asked many questions on the theft and the thief, whether Warren was suspected, etc. We told them that the thief was not yet known but that he would soon be arrested, if he were not already. Miller and the two others attached their wretched canoe on the other side in spite of our having advised the contrary, as we had offered to bring them across at their departure. That made me determined to send someone to untie the canoe and let it go with the current, not wishing to leave such a convenience for rascals to come pay us a visit without our knowing it.

Journey. Given the rain, we left only toward 5 and a half. After eight miles we had breakfast at the home of Mr. Fisher, a settler recently established on the road to Mr. Boon's.[31] He received us very well and did not want to take any payment. We arrived at 2 at Mr. Boon's tavern. This new road has cost much money and requires more before it will be passable. We had much difficulty in getting our horses out of several bogs. At 4, we left, and arrived at eight at Bagg's in Fort Schuyler. Finally at 9:30 we reached Zellie's tavern,[32] five miles from Fort Schuyler. We found Croker there, held and guarded by the constable, Trull, and 2 other men. I had a conversation with him. I represented to him what he was exposing his wife and children to. He listened to me calmly and kept silent for nearly a quarter of an hour before answering me. Finally, he told me that not being guilty, he had nothing to

admit to. I responded that, since he rejected our offers of accomodation and was unable to repent, my only recourse was the law, which would settle the question of his innocence. At 10:30, we arrived, very tired, at Mr. Merrell's, having been exposed to the rain nearly all day long, and making 45 miles over frightful roads.

Monday, 4 July 1796 Our people have finished hoeing the peas. They next began to earth up the maize, which is high enough to be snapped by the wind without this precaution. Saw numerous pigeons, which allows us to be sparing of our provisions. Ferlent keeps to his bed and is weakening greatly. The surveyors came back from Topping's with the news that our thief had been arrested.

Journey. I made my complaint before Mr. Ostrom, justice of the peace.[33] He was assisted by two others, as the affair was a criminal one. The warrants to bring him in and search his house and person were sent: and this took the whole morning. Only 40 piastres were found in his bed. After dinner, court was held. The witnesses which I produced were Trull, who had followed his tracks; Messrs. Merrell and Colonel Sanger, with whom he had cashed bank notes; the handle of the broken file which I had found in the woods near the chest, and which had been recognized as belonging to him by the said Root, a worker who ordinarily worked with him, and by the said who lived in the same house as he.[34] Croker produced two witnesses on his side, but their depositions contained nothing in his favor. On the contrary, Mr. Greenlee, with whom he had come to Castorland the first time, testified that upon their returning to Fort Schuyler, he had given him two dollars to buy some salmon from the Indians at Fish Creek, where Croker had told him he was going; whereas in fact he returned the next day to Castorland and told us that he had given Mr. Greenlee rendez-vous at our place. Croker's lawyer was a more ready speaker than mine. In spite of that, the uniformity of the witnesses' statements, the known conduct of the accused, and the file handle especially, a mute and irreproachable witness, finally determined the judges to find against Croker, after their conferring from 8 until 10 in the evening. They ordered that he be transferred the next day to the county jail in German Flats where the high court is currently being held.

We were all summoned to appear there as well.

Tuesday, 5 July 1796 *Settlement*. Mr. Brown and his men left after breakfast for their surveying. Besot, one of the Canadians, being sick, did not work in the morning. Baptiste raised the quay of the fountain and repaved the terrain, so as to place the spring beyond the average rise in water level. Our men earthed up the maize.

Journey. It was 11 before everything was readied to transfer the prisoner. During this time, the constable asked me to advance him the expenses for guarding the prisoner. The justices of the peace and others letting me know that he was not well-off, and that these expenses would be returned to me out

of the county tax, I did not judge it appropriate to disoblige them at the critical moment, and Mr. Merrell charged himself with paying the six pounds, fourteen shillings, for which I promised my note on New York.

> *Nota*: having consulted before bringing my complaint, I had Croker prosecuted in the name of the public party and not at my own request, this man being without property and without means of recovery. The expenses therefore were at the charge of the public, and I had to pay nothing.

At 11, Mr. Ostrom and I, tired of waiting, took the initiative & went from New Hartford to Bagg's at a trot; our people not arriving, we had dinner prepared. As we were taking our places at our table, there arrived Mr. Merrell, the constable and the prisoner, all three on horseback. The thief, attired as well as we and without any distinguishing mark, came over without any ado to sit down and eat with his judge and me, and to make fine conversation, so that the curious, which this country does not lack for, and whom the rumor of our affair had drawn into the inn, were asking which of us was the thief. There I found General Schuyler, to whom I spoke of our petition for the road to King'stown: he promised me his kind offices for the next session. After dinner, we got back on horseback, all five of us, our thief sometimes in front, sometimes on the side. Two or three times he tried to stay behind; but I took care to always keep the rear-guard. We arrived in German Flats toward seven. The inns were full, given the session. The constable consigned his prisoner to the jail. Not finding any bed, I went from door to door, and finally a good German, mangling French a little, was willing to give me a mattress on the floor, where we were 8 to sleep.

Wednesday, 6 July 1796 *Settlement*. Our four workers have mounded earth up around the maize, and then the potatoes. Killed about fifty pigeons in the evening.

Journey. We were not admitted to the grand jury until the afternoon. I restated my complaint, reproduced the witnesses and the file-handle. While going back down, I found the person at whose home he had slept on Wednesday when returning from his expedition. He had been showing off his bank notes, saying he had received a reimbursement. I requested this honest man to go up with me to the grand jury, where his testimony would not be useless. My good German charged me at the rate of a dollar a day for pension. I went to see the session of the court. The English forms are followed. I saw Mr. Yates, the chief judge, Mr. Casaty, his assistant, and Mr. Gould, public prosecuter.[35] I represented to them that the distance did not allow me to produce all my witnesses in time, as the court was ending its session Saturday. I still had Mr. Brown, the surveyor who had encountered Croker coming to the Black River; Masham, one of the men living at Hobbard's, to whom he had said he was coming to Castorland. (Croker had refused to continue to stay on the road with him, saying that he preferred the new road);

Mr. Willocks, the innkeeper 7 miles from Fort Stanwix, where Croker had stopped while coming and said that he was going to Castorland. Returning to Willocks's place, Croker had shown three packets of bank notes and said that he had received a lot of money. I had, however, more witnesses than I needed for the moral proof, and I had no doubts that, by putting the matter off until the next session, other things having some relation to the stolen items, which could be sold and recognized, would be discovered from now until then.

Thursday, 7 July 1796 *Settlement*. Baptiste repaired the door of the stable and cleared in the large garden. Our 4 men continued to earth up the potatoes and the maize. François Sabourin, whom Baptiste had hired, arrived at 2. The islet of sand in the middle of the river became visible today for the first time since the month of September last.

Journey. We went to the court, where we were adjourned. The grand jury made its report and declared Croker indicted. We were delayed to the evening session. We dined with the judges and lawyers. We were 32 at table. A dollar per person was taken from us and yet what was furnished was not enough for ten. I was surprised at this exorbitant price, and at how the lawyers, etc. could meet these expenses. I was told that the gains were in proportion and that there was a certain lawyer here, who was given *three hundred dollars* to come here from Albany to plead a case.

At three, we returned to the court, where Croker was brought in. His case was put off until the next session. He did not appear at all satisfied with staying such a long time in prison and asked to be released on bail to appear. At that point I requested that if the court was willing to give him bail, it demand bail for four hundred pounds more, for the amount of the theft which he had done to me. The court refused his request, as he had already been bailed three months ago upon a criminal accusation for forgery, which had got him the liberty to steal from me. A fine example for dishonest people of the utility of the institution of bail in criminal cases! Our affair being thus concluded, we were all summoned, after taking an oath, to appear at next year's session.[36] Given the excessive heat of the day, we decided to leave that same evening.

At 7 in the evening, we got on our horses and arrived at 9 thirty in Fort Schuyler, having gone 16 miles without refreshing our horses. I asked Mr. Merrell, before leaving him, how much I was indebted to him. He set his expenses and his time at six pounds. I thanked him and promised him to leave at Bagg's my letters for Albany and New York, with a note on M. Olive for twelve pounds, fourteen shillings, including the sum advanced to the constable, which he promised to give back to me from the county tax. He is proposing to leave for New York within 2 days.

Friday, 8 July 1796 *Settlement*. Finished earthing up the potatoes. Two men continued to earth up the maize; two others earthed up the peas, beans and pumpkins.

Baptiste repaired the garden gate and with François Sabourin dug the new garden.

Journey. I sent Trull on ahead to Fort Stanwix. I made up my dispatches and wrapped up the bank note along with everything else, to be sent to Mr. Merrell, who is to take it Monday next on the stage. At one I left Bagg's, from whom I borrowed five piastres. I saw in passing Mr. Green's house in Oriskany. It is a palace, for this country. At four, I arrived in Fort Stanwix. I saw the work on the new canal, which scarcely advances for lack of manpower. I went to pay a call on Mr. Linch, whom I asked for some lots in the city which he is having made there, a store for the Company being indispensable in this location, which will be the commercial center for the West and become very flourishing, and from where it takes only twenty-nine miles to get to Castorland by land.[37] Trull not wishing to rejoin Mr. Brown, I paid his expenses and that for the horse at the inn, and finding myself short of money, I agreed to pay him for his time upon my return from New York.

At the inn I found Cretendon half drunk. I engaged him with difficulty to leave the tavern to come back with me and to charge himself with bringing Trull's horse. I had not yet gone by this road, and I did not care to engage myself on it alone. We left at 6. I arrived at Willocks's, 5 miles distant, a tavern where Croker had stopped while going and coming back from his expedition. I engaged him to make his deposition, which is very supportive. At seven, I arrived at Cretendon's, two miles further. From this point, there is a stretch of 20 uninhabited miles.

Saturday, 9 July 1796 *Settlement*. Continued the same kind of work, very difficult, the terrain being filled with roots. They are made into small piles, and the workers burn them to create smoke and protect themselves from the swarms of flies and *brûlots* which emerge from the ground at every stroke of the mattock. After dinner, the fire caught in the roots, and they had difficulty in extinguishing it. Baptiste and François have cleared the new garden; Angot and Piquet have mounded earth around the maize. Meharis and Besot have hoed the peas and beans.

Journey. In the morning, Cretendon, now sober, was no longer so obliging. He refused to go with me; his son did the same. I therefore left him Mr. Brodhead's horse, which he promised to bring back to me next week. I set a price of one dollar for his keeping and bringing it back. And so I ventured to cross this road alone. My only recourse was that there was no reason to become mistaken, there being only one pathway. I left at 5 in the morning and having fortunately got myself through the bogs and creeks, I arrived at Hobbard's at noon; which is very fast going over such country. Thanks to the horse being a good one, I arrived: but, as I have already remarked, it is very imprudent to risk oneself in such a way, alone. If an accident should happen, you have no help to expect, and you must perish there, unless chance lead to you some help. I paid Hobbard 5 sh. 6 pence, that my brother owed him from

the last time. He did not even offer me a glass of water. I got back on my horse, and I arrived toward 3 in Castorland, famished and exhausted.

Sunday, 10 July Rest for our men. Mr. Shailer, who has bought from Mr. Constable a township of fifty thousand acres which stretches from Inman's triangle up to six miles below the great fall, came to pay us a visit with his associates. He is having a saw-mill constructed on Sugar Creek at its junction with White Creek, and he expects about sixty families next autumn. At 3, Mr. Brown came back from Inman's square. He told us that he has found in this township some springs of salt water seven miles from here. Some pigeons that he was hunting led him to discover them. The salt is quite crystallized on the banks. An Indian hut is several chains further. If the fact is true, that will be very advantageous for our settlement.

Monday, 11 July 1796 Hired yesterday evening at 4 sh. per day for three days two of Mr. Brown's men, each one in order to help make the hay in the neighboring meadow. These reinforcements are just in time for us, the mowing requiring attention and the work of earthing up the maize needing to be finished. During breakfast, the rain which started to fall made us delay the mowing. Accordingly, two men were put to work digging the cellar under the kitchen, and three others, cleaning out the cowshed; after which, two ground the tools and the third hoed the garden. After dinner, two continued grinding, and the three others dug the cellar which is now half done. The surveyors spent the day at the house, and given the bad weather, we have not taken on their men.

Tuesday, 12 July 1796 The weather still threatening rain, I kept our men busy raising fences on the plateau, one of our horses having again jumped over them last night, after knocking over two mid-sized logs. Used the oxen to haul two pine logs that the Canadians squared to make the frame for the cellar door. François, Baptiste and Angot have hoed the large garden. In the afternoon, finished raising the fences on the plateau. Still many pigeons.

Wednesday, 13 inst Four workers mounded earth around the maize. François levelled the ground in the cellar and worked in the garden, the alleys of which I laid out. Baptiste hoed and raised the plat-bands.[38] Proposed to Mr. Brown to undertake cutting ten miles of road in the angle of the Black River.

Thursday, 14 July 1796 One of Mr. Brown's workers worked with 4 of ours to earth up the maize. François and Baptiste were put to work on the garden. Mr. Brown engaged himself to cut the road, ten miles by two rods in width, for eighty piastres.

Friday, 15 inst Crosby left this morning. The 14 dollars, 5 sh. 10 pence, which he owes us for provisions which were advanced to him and his men, will be paid by Mr. Brown, to be deducted from his business agreement.

Mr. Brown and his people made their preparations for going down to the Long falls to cut the road there.

Our 4 workers finished earthing and digging the maize. After which they began to spade the peas and beans on the plateau. Baptiste and François worked on the garden and transplanted the watermelons, cucumbers and pumpkins from the small one.

Saturday, 16 inst At 8 in the morning, Mr. Brown left by canoe with three men to cut the road at the long falls. We lent him three axes.

Four of our workers hoed on the plateau; François and Baptiste, at work in the garden, manured and dug the beds and replanted out of the little garden.

Sunday, 17 inst Rest for our men. Rainstorm.

Monday, 18 inst Yesterday's storm has not yet allowed us to send our men to the meadow. They were put to work finishing the enclosure. Crosby came back to finish his surveying. He again took from us 13 sh. of provisions, for which he gave me a note on Mr. Bagg. After breakfast, I sent 3 mowers to the meadow. Two others continued hoeing the beans. Baptiste worked in the garden. Given the constant showers, our workers came back early from the meadow.

Tuesday, 19 July Three men mowed all day long. Dinner was brought to them. Two others hoed the beans. In the morning, Baptiste worked on the garden. In the evening, he made forks for turning the hay. Saw a moose deer in the meadow.

Wednesday, 20 inst All of our people, except for Besot who has a sore foot, turned the hay, cut two days earlier. In the morning, while waiting for the dew to dissipate, work of hoeing the beans was finished.

Thursday, 21 inst Before breakfasting, the scythes were sharpened and the peas hoed; then mowed and turned all day long. Baptiste made some rakes for the hay and worked in the garden.

Friday, 22 inst Before breakfast, Mr. Brodhead's old canoe was taken out of the water to be repaired, and they worked in the garden. They then went to make hay all day long. Baptiste repaired the canoe. Cretendon brought us back Mr. Brodhead's horse. He claims that he will finish our road within a few days: I told him that I would no longer give him any advance as long as it was not completely finished. Piquet, one of our Canadians, being attacked by dysentery, left off working in the meadow. I gave him the job of making the frame for the cellar. He is a good carpenter and seems to be an excellent subject.

Saturday, 23 July 1796 Dismissed this morning Besot, a Canadian, who added to laziness impertinence. Baptiste and Piquet left in the small canoe to

go view Mr. Brown's work. At the same time, Piquet will view the mill at the Long falls and see whether he can undertake its completion next year. The three men who remain to us went to the meadow. Two men, lost in the woods for three days, arrived starving. It was the noise from the fall which fortunately engaged them to come in our direction. They were coming from Sandy Creek on Lake Ontario.

Sunday, 24 inst Rest. Meharis, finding himself ill, took some hypecacuanha. At four, Mr. Brown and his men came back as well as Baptiste & Piquet, who met them en route. They brought us back M. Tassart, who is returning from Penet's square and is concerned about Mr. Brodhead, whom he left indisposed at the long falls. Mr. Brodhead arrived an hour later, having left his bark canoe which was conducted by Wampy who, in turn, left the canoe behind several miles from here and arrived after them, carrying on his back the baggage of Messrs. Brodhead and Tassart. Brown has cut only 3 to 4 miles of road. His men's illness forced him to come back. At 7, M. Tassart left. Made an agreement with Edmond for cutting the road from here to Castorville, 21 miles, at the rate of eight piastres per mile.

Monday, 25 July 1796 Wampy went with our workers to make haystacks. Piquet took the hypecacuanha, as did Mr. Brodhead. Baptiste also went to the meadow to help make the stacks. Fortunately, the storm only got here at the moment that they were finishing them. In the afternoon, three returned to mow. Baptiste and Meharis prepared the ground and sowed turnips in the enclosure.

Tuesday, 26 July 1796 Mr. Brodhead drew up the Rough map[39] of Penet's square. Piquet worked on the door to the cellar and dug out the location of the staircase. Baptiste & Meharis planted turnips and sowed. After dinner, they went to turn the hay which the others had mown. The frame for the cellar door was installed in the evening, and Piquet began to cover the sides with masonry. In the evening, Mr. Brodhead had a violent attack of fever accompanied with delirium. This made me put off my journey until Saturday.

Wednesday, 27 inst Returned to Baptiste the five dollars which I had borrowed from him for my journey with Mr. Merrell. Mr. Brodhead is better this morning. Baptiste and Meharis finished sowing the turnips; then the pumpkins were hoed. Wampy cut up into logs some trees felled along the river. This will give us some wood while we wait for the harvesting to empty the enclosure, or for the bridge over the slide[40] on the road to be made. François and Angot are mowing. Piquet has covered with masonry the 2 small side walls of the cellar staircase.

Thursday, 28 July 1796 The weather being good, all our men went to turn the hay; put the hay in small piles, and raised two stacks. Mr. Brodhead

was purged this evening before the attack. He had no delirium and the fever was much less strong.

Friday, 29 inst Before breakfasting, had the wood that Wampy had cut up at the water's edge brought over in the ferry. Then put men to work on the meadow. Showed Piquet the location of the bridge to be built for the road over the mudslide at the foot of the plateau, and I gave him my instructions to do it as soon as the hay is finished. He then left to get his belongings at New Rotterdam, as he is to spend the winter here.

At 4:30, Mr. Brodhead, finding himself better, left on one of our horses to go view his store for provisions. From there, he will go to Topping's where I will catch up with him, to go together to Fort Schuyler. Wampy accompanied him. Baptiste, while returning from bringing dinner to our men, informed us that our mare had been found trapped in a mudhole with her colt. They had a great deal of difficulty in getting her out. She is so weak that she cannot keep herself up on her legs. We went to see her. She was brought some oats, some hay. A fire was made to dry her out, but she seems to be lamed in all her members, and I have little hope that she will pull through.

Saturday, 30 July 1796 Rain and storm. The bad weather prevented me from leaving for New York to get funds and to see if I receive any letters from the Company in order to be able to plan in advance the operations for next year. Our mare, in spite of all our care, is only getting worse. I had the filly led to the stable, where it will be fed with maize flour soaked in water. It will make a fine mare if we can succeed in raising it. In the evening, the mare died. To guard against the stench it was skinned and buried. During the intervals of good weather Angot and François mowed.

Sunday, 31 July 1796 Rest. James Meharis came back at one, my brother having rejoined Mr. Brodhead and Wampy. Baptiste killed a merlin. François brought back alive a young hare.

Journey. Not knowing whether Mr. Brodhead had continued on his way since Friday or whether, if his fever had resumed, he would be able to accompany me, I took Meharys with me to bring the horse back from Fort Schuyler, in either case. Left at 6. Arrived at 8 at Topping's from where I dispatched Meharis on horseback to alert Mr. Brodhead, if he should still be at Hobbard's store. One hour later, Mr. Brodhead came back with him and Wampy. I then sent Meharis back to Castorland, and we went to have dinner at the new store established by Mr. Boon and kept by Mr. Storm, son-in-law of Mr. Post. This store is eleven miles from our settlement; it is large, well set up, with both flour- and saw-mills and a potashery. We viewed the work, which is well executed. This settlement is advantageous for us, in that it brings considerably closer our being furnished in planks, flour and merchandise, which we had to get from Fort Schuyler, 45 miles away, or from Fort Stanwix, 34 miles by the old road, and 29 miles, when the new one is passable. Mr. Storm had us stay

for dinner. I spoke to him about business agreements for flour and planks to be furnished for next year. The price of wheat not being able to be ascertained yet, we put off deciding this until my return. We had supper and slept in Steuben at Mr. White's.

Monday, First of August 1796 *Settlement*. With rain stopping work at the meadow, the workers re-sharpened and fitted handles to their tools. After dinner, the cowshed was cleaned out; had the logs along the river removed and brought over in the ferry. Had the other felled trees cut up into logs so as to take advantage of the high waters, in order to load this wood, to be used for heating, and conduct it to the house.

Journey. Mr. Brodhead took in the morning some quinquina on the prescription of a doctor whom he met in Steuben, and who claims that the hypecacuanha only made the fever get worse instead of curing it. I did not oppose this, given that that could only do him some good, and I did not dispute with the doctor, because of the uselessness of doctoral disputes. There was a violent rain; however, we started on our way in order to reach Mr. Boon's settlement at least, where we arrived toward eleven, thoroughly wet in spite of our overcoats. The rain continuing and Mr. Brodhead fearing the return of his fever, I agreed to stay, all the more so, as his being exposed to the rain just after getting over a violent fever could cause him to have a relapse. I went to see Messrs. Boon, Mappa; and Mr. Schuyler, who keeps their store. They have given their settlement the name of Olden Barneveldt; but for Americans, this name is too long, and it is called Boon because it is shorter; and the Yankees, who know and see Mr. Boon, are ignorant of the past existence of the self-proclaimed patriot Barneveldt.[41] One has rather bad fare at Mr. Boon's inn; but it is clean, and one pays there as much as one would to be very comfortable in New York. We were charged a dollar for our one day stay there.

Tuesday, 2 August 1796 *Settlement*. As the storm caused the meadow to flood, Angot and Meharis were put to work felling the woods along the river; François Sabourin rested, having a fever; and Baptiste went to look for the livestock which he brought back in the evening.

Journey. We left at seven, and after finding four miles of rather good road, we had, given the amount of rain and the clayey nature of the terrain, seven miles of nearly impracticable road. We were accompanied by the constable[42] Henry, the same who arrested Croker. He said to Mr. Brodhead that Trull, whom I sent to look for him, having gone to Fort Stanwix, had told him to take out a writ against me, as I had refused to pay him his time. I was not surprised at this latest example of the American character. I told the constable that Trull had agreed with me that I would pay him upon my return from New York; that I had acquitted his expenses; that, in addition, Mr. Brodhead, going straight to Fort Stanwix, would see Trull and satisfy him for me. As we were crossing the Fort Schuyler bridge, I saw a batteau which was leaving for

Schenectady. We hailed it: the boatmen came to shore, promising to wait a quarter of an hour. I therefore took only time enough to stop at Bagg's, where, finding Piquet back from New Rotterdam, I gave him my horse to bring back. Encountering also the men with whom I had come to an agreement for cutting the road to Castorville, I had them repeat our terms in front of Mr. Brodhead, whom I charged with writing them down, not having the time to do so myself. I also had my brother informed, by Piquet, that I had reserved a half-hundred of maple sugar, at one shilling, at Mr. Boon's store: finally, I ran and quickly embarked, bringing along a piece of bread and meat to eat in the batteau. The constable, who had left us next to the bridge on some pretense, and who, in spite of his assurances of honesty, had gone I believe to get his writ, will be out for his errand. We left at noon, and we arrived at 4 at Alridge's tavern in Fort Herkimer. I engaged the boatmen to push on further, and we landed at the entrance to the canal at Little Falls at sunset. The lockmen refused however to let the batteau go through, and we had much difficulty in finding a place to stay. Finally, on the other side of the bridge, we were received in a store, where a table was set for us.

Wednesday, 3 August 1796 *Settlement*. Angot and Meharis worked in the meadow, and Baptiste in the garden. François still has a fever. At 9, there arrived 2 of Mr. Mitchell's men, who is Mr. Constable's surveyor. They had been lost in the woods for seven days. When they saw of the tracks of our oxen, this sighting renewed their courage and led them all the way here, where we fed them.

They had continued to a point below the long falls, having taken them for those of the Moose River. They then went back up and, instead of following the Black River, they crossed the Castor River, the Independence, and Otter Creek, which they found to be much swollen by the rains. They expect Mr. Mitchel within eight days. The St. Regis Indians, colonel Louis at their head, opposed the surveying. These two men had been sent with three others to search for the lost horses. Not agreeing on the route that they had to follow to get here, they divided into two bands.

Journey. Our boatmen not arriving, we went to the canal where we found our batteau, which was being let through. The locks take a considerable time to fill up and to empty out, given that water leaks out everywhere through the joints of the planks and the banked earth, of which the locks or dykes are made, besides the fact that the gates already no longer close exactly. The rock at the canal's exit has still not yet been exploded. Nearly all the batteaux are going to strike against it, with more or less peril. Only when accidents happen will it be taken care of. We got off with a violent jolt and a broken boat hook. We breakfasted at the tavern on the other side, and we had our dinner cooked there in advance. I took the rudder. We fortunately got ourselves through all the rapids. The wind favoring us, we sailed nearly the whole day. At 7 in the evening, finding ourselves still eight miles from Schenectady, we stopped at a

tavern, with the resolution to leave at daybreak, which assured us of arriving before the departure of the stage and of reaching Albany in the morning. I encountered in this tavern the surveyors Brown and Crosby. We spoke again of the salt springs that Mr. Brown said he had discovered. He promised me that he would indeed be back at the Black River within three weeks. He informed me that Mr. Brantigham, the proprietor of Inman's square, was in prison in New York; and that his agent, Mr. Fees, had been incarcerated too, in Albany; so that, as I had forewarned him, the only reward for his efforts will be the surveying work he completed. I advised him to go to New York and offer it to Mr. Inman, who, having reprised the lands, could also reprise his surveying.

Thursday, 4 August 1796 *Settlement*. Night very cool. At 5 in the morning, Mr. Mitchel's three other men arrived, likewise famished. They had not got lost: the horse, which they found, having given them much difficulty to conduct, held them up. The 5 men will leave with the horse at two. They made an expenditure of two pounds, four shillings; and one of them gave me his order so that Mr. Mitchel would pay upon his return.

Our men worked on the meadow. While coming back, Baptiste informed me that Mr. Brodhead's horse had been found dead in the same spot where our mare perished. At noon, Piquet came back from Fort Schuyler, bringing back my brother's horse. He gave me a letter from Mr. Brodhead and a model of the agreement[43] to be signed by Edmond and Warren for cutting the road to Castorville. François still has a fever.

Journey. Having left at daybreak, we arrived in Schenectady toward eight. Our boatmen caused this delay, stubbornly keeping the sail up in order to spare their arms. Those in Mr. Brown's batteau arrived one hour before us. The stage having left, I met a waggon, and I got on. Arrived at noon in Albany.

Friday, 5 August 1796 Angot, Meharis, François, Piquet and Baptiste worked all day long in the meadow. This type of work is especially unpleasant as they have to stand in the water all day long, etc. But I insisted that it be done before they work on other things.

Saturday, 6 August 1796 Same kind of work. At two, our men came back for dinner having finished piling the hay and surrounding the haystacks with fences. After dinner, I sent them to the meadow 5 miles from here, to examine it. They found last year's hay spoiled, but that growing now is very good.

Sunday, 7 inst Rest for our men. I had a lot of watering done in the evening, which the garden very much needed.

Monday, 8 August The work on the bridge over the mudslide was begun. Felled and squared five pieces of lumber. This bridge will be 120 feet long, 18 high and 26 posts.

Tuesday, 9 August 1796 Edmond having arrived, I had him sign the business agreement for the road. Our men felled and squared.

Wednesday, 10 August 1796 *Settlement*. Edmond began to cut the road. I brought him to the first-mile tree, his point of departure. At 12:30, there arrived two men and our surveyors. They informed us that the two surveyors whom Mr. Brodhead had left in good health, had since come down with lake fever and dysentery, as did several of their men; this forced them to leave and return by way of Oswego with the batteaux. Mr. Brodhead is to meet up with them at Fort Stanwix. I fear that this may hold him up, and all the more so, as he was to bring back the three barrels of flour that he borrowed from us and which we are very short of. These men had been without provisions for two days, and they had to be fed. They left at 2 for Topping's.

Our men worked as yesterday. Baptiste made some rum with the pipe of spirits, by adding to it one-third spring water.

Journey—from 5 to 10 August.

Made my visits. Arranged the documents. Wrote up the journal. The contrary winds delayed our departure until evening, when I embarked with Messrs. Quesnel, Ledet, Terme and Bizot on a sloop to Lansingburgh. We came to an agreement of 12 shillings for passage and 5 shillings per day for food. The other captains take two dollars and 6 shillings per day for food and give no better treatment. We ran aground on the Overslaught, a bar of silt two miles from Albany; this bar obstructs the navigation and does not allow vessels of more than 80 tons to continue upstream.

Thursday, 11 August 1796 *Settlement*. Same tasks as yesterday.

Journey. The wind is against us; in the evening however, it became favorable and brought us to below Hudson, from which point the river is navigable for the largest ships. The cities of Speranza and New Baltimore are not growing.

Friday, 12 August 1796 Our men worked as yesterday at squaring parts for the bridge. Saw an eagle with head and tail white.

Journey. Headwind all day. The two tides scarcely brought us 20 miles.

Saturday, 13 inst Warren, Edmond's associate in cutting the road, arrived and went to join him. Our men worked on squaring.

Journey. Wind contrary. We reached Poughkeepsie, where we had time to walk around. This small city is half-way between New York and Albany. The location is healthy and rather attractive.

Sunday, 14 August Rest for our men. Found a rose in bloom: it resembles the rose of Provins.[44] The center is occupied by a kind of raspberry, large and excellent.

Journey. We arrived toward 10 in Newborough, small city 17 miles below Poughkeepsie, and three miles from the High Lands. This city is growing: many

sloops and schooners are being built there. Even large ships are being built there. At two, a violent breeze from the north arose and made us run very promptly the 20 miles that the river takes between the steep mountains. I encountered a sloop which was going up, on which was one of my relatives whom I was expecting from France. We only had the time to say hello to each other. Upon exiting the neck, the wind blowing impetuously, our captain, frightened, struck the main sail so awkwardly that it almost got torn, and we would have become dangerously engaged if our vessel had not been so heavily loaded. Our captain feared the wind, and we feared him. The good wind then kept up; but a fog arising, the captain had us lie at anchor, unconcerned moreover about arriving at night.

Monday, 15 August 1796 Both Baptiste, his hand swollen, and Piquet, having crushed his fingers Saturday, worked in the garden. The three other workers squared. A man came to help Edmond and Warren cut the road.

Journey. At seven in the morning, we finally entered the port of New York. I went to lodge at my friend Thurman's, who had left several days ago for his lands. Saw Messrs. Olive, Chériot, etc.

Tuesday, 16 August 1796 A new neighbor came to visit us. I had noticed yesterday smoke from his clearing. He is from Phalsbourg in Alsace, speaks French and settled at Mr. Shayler's on our new road from Fort Stanwix, ¾ mile from here. He is clearing half with one of his friends who has a lot adjoining his own. He is supposed to come back in the spring with his family. He told us that Mr. Shayler's saw-mill was almost finished. Our road goes below this mill.

Our workers have squared posts, the six large forty-foot parts being finished. Piquet is ill from dysentery.

Journey. Worked with Mr. Seton and settled the account with him.

Wednesday, 17 August 1796 Our men cut and squared. Piquet still sick. The flour which Mr. Brodhead had promised not arriving, I am very worried at this delay and for the health of our surveyor.

Journey. Long discussion with M. Olive on the subject of Penet's square, etc. Then meeting together with his associates Messrs. Cheriot and Le Guain, we discussed things from both sides, without settling anything.

Thursday, 18 August 1796 Our workers finished squaring parts for the bridge. The surveyor Crosby came with another man to view the lands. He announced to me that Mr. Brown was supposed to come back soon in order to complete the road which he has undertaken to cut. This further addition of people to be fed made me decide to have Baptiste leave on horseback to join up with Mr. Brodhead in Fort Stanwix. If our surveyor cannot give back to us the barrels of flour which we furnished him, Baptiste will see to getting some others and to bringing us a cartload.

Journey. Made some purchases on the Company's behalf. I saw Mr. Scriba and several neighboring proprietors, in order to join with them on the subject of the roads to be opened in our surrounding area. I went to see our Consul and with the chancellor concluded the matter of my friend's inventory. I learned of our Ambassador's imminent arrival.[45] I made the consul a present of a beaver tail.

Wednesday, 19 August At sunrise, Baptiste left on horseback for Fort Stanwix. Our men worked at cutting some roads on Inman's plateau in order to use the oxen to haul the squared wood and packs of shingles. Fire has again caught in the woods through Angot's imprudence. In a terrain filled with wood shavings and dry brush, we had much difficulty in extinguishing it and in saving our squared wood and our shingles.

Journey. Returned to the assembly of the Penet associates.

I reimbursed M. Cheriot 93 piastres which he had advanced for the passage of my young relative. M. Olive having announced to me the imminent arrival of M. Tillier, the Company's commissioner, this news made me decide to delay my departure.

Saturday, 20 August 1796 *Settlement*. Continued cutting the roads on the plateau from Inman's mountain. All the wood squared is of hemlock, the most incorruptible wood after cedar, which we do not have here. I went to look at the enclosure where the fire caught. I found another one which had flared up with violence; I immediately went to alert the workers and with shovelfuls of sand and much effort, we surrounded it with trenches.

Journey. I went to the consulate where, M. Olive having certified the power of attorney which he had received from the father of my friend Pharoux, I delivered to the chancellery the portfolios of which I had been charged, and I was given a release for the inventory.[46] The consul informed me that he was waiting for our ambassador. My friend Brunel had spoken of me to M. Adet, who had indicated a desire to see me. I made the acquaintance of M. Mouchet, employed by our government, who also engaged me to pay my respects to our new ambassador. I wrote to M. Tillier in Philadelphia, inviting him to hasten his arrival here.

Sunday, 21 August *Settlement*. Rest for our men. Of our three road-cutters, Warren, sick, is leaving. Their hired man, no longer wishing to be eaten by the flies, is leaving them; and Edmond is leaving to look for more workers. Baptiste came back in the evening with the horse which we had lent to Mr. Brodhead. Baptiste found Mr. Brodhead sick and not thinking about replacing our wheat for us. The waggon is supposed to leave Tuesday in order to bring it to us.

Journey. I saw M. de Villesuranec,[47] one of my relatives, who was making a living by gardening. I brought him to the consul to have him regularize his

situation properly and advised him to take up again the arts, which allow several young men here who are in the same situation to make a living.

Monday, 22 August 1796 The place where the bridge will be erected was cleaned up. Cut the trees down in the surrounding area, and which could have fallen on it. François set out towards Moose River to look for the oxen, without being able to find them.

Journey. With Brunel, paid my visit to the ambassador. He kept me for breakfast, asked me questions about the Company, which I answered to his satisfaction. Paid M. Chériot for M. Caquey's passage, who gave me a bill of exchange on Troyes. In the afternoon I went to the foundry of Curtenius,[48] where I ordered two chimney-stoves for the Company. I also ordered some pipes made of laminated steel and several tin utensiles.

Tuesday, 23 August 1796 *Settlement*. Baptiste and Meharis set out in different directions to look for the oxen, without being able to find them. Our men tied up the packs of shingles; they are to be gathered into a single pile to shelter them in the future from fire in case it should start again.

Since, because of the theft, our people know that I have no money to give them their pay, they are indifferent and laze around at their ease.

Journey. Saw Messrs. Olive, Chériot, Leguain. These gentlemen are offering me the commission for the sale of Penet's square: I accept it. I then went to see M. de St. Mesmin, for the engraving of the map of Castorland. I encountered at his place M. de Valdenuit, one of my neighbors in Champagne.[49] He has taken up the arts and wishes to make the journey to Niagara. I offered him hospitality in Albany and my recommendations. M. Mouchet arrived and also informed me of the same desire to see Niagara Falls: I made him the same offers and promised to get together with them. My intention was to make the same trip out, up to the strait,[50] come back down to King'stown, inspect our lands on the Lake in order to select the site for the city of Niaouré and for the establishment for the lower mills; from there, go down to Montreal and come back to Albany by way of Lake Champlain. This journey would have enabled me to have all the knowledge necessary both for the trade in furs and for the trade which our settlement could expect with Montreal.[51] I would have established connections and correspondents in each place. I would have been able to obtain livestock in Canada and workers for next year at lower cost. Finally, I would have executed during the winter a project to this end, and which would have enabled the Company to determine whether or not it ought to become involved in this commerce. But the delays caused by M. Tillier's arrival, whom I have to conduct to Castorland and familiarize with matters, make me foresee that the season, too advanced, will force me to give this up.

Wednesday, 24 August 1796 *Settlement*. Wishing to be in a position to dismiss the laziest worker at least, I borrowed money from Baptiste, from

François and from Ferlent, which gave me the means to dismiss this morning Angot, who had just finished his two months. I gave him a letter for my brother, and addressed to Bagg's. Baptiste repaired the garden gate, squared and laid some planks in Ferlent's house.

Had trees cut down on the river, along the enclosure.

Journey. This morning at M. Chériot's, I learned of M. Tillier's arrival. I was able to meet him only towards noon. We immediately got down to business, he giving me a letter from the Company and one from M. Le Ray. We were interrupted by the arrival of the carriage which was to bring him to M. Olive's country home, and we set a rendez-vous for the next day's morning. Perhaps these gentlemen will prejudice him against me: but if he is a sensible man, he will rely on himself and examine.

I got back together with Messrs. Mouchet and Valdenuit. We agreed to make the trip to Albany together. As the senior person, I took on the responsibility of arranging our passage. Mr. Seton gave me some letters of recommendation and a letter of credit for Montreal, in the event I should be able to make my journey.

Thursday, 25 August 1796 *Settlement*. Before breakfast, I had some workers use the ferry to bring over a load of large stones for the foundation for the oven to be constructed. Next, continued to fell and cut up trees at the second enclosure, on the river. After dinner, cut some pathways to haul the squared wood. Again searched for the oxen, uselessly.

Journey. Spent the morning conferring with M. Tillier. Set my departure for the next day. M. Tillier promised me to follow close behind, as he was supposed to leave on the same sloop as the ambassador. We then went to M. Olive's, who gave me the 400 pounds on Mr. Seton's note, which he had cashed last June. With M. Mouchet, I saw M. Adet, our minister. I asked him to give M. Mouchet permission to go on ahead with me, as this was a chance for having him make the journey to Niagara in the company of others. The ambassador granted us this, expressing to us his regret at not being able to make the same journey, and gave us rendez-vous in Albany.

Friday, 26 August 1796 *Settlement*. Same kinds of work as yesterday. Look vainly for the livestock.

Journey. Reserved passage on the sloop Warren. Paid and had carried on board the Company's things. Made my calls and my preparations for departure.

Saturday, 27 August 1796 *Settlement*. Same tasks as yesterday. At two, the waggon of flour from Mr. Brodhead arrived with Cretendon, who claims to have finished the road and asked me for an advance, which I refused him, given that the work is not verified. He told me that Messrs. Schailor, Stow and Hobbard had agreed to furnish at common expense the money necessary to improve this road. Our men still could not find the oxen. They saw a bear in the meadow and further beyond, a baby bear and its mother.

Journey. Our captain delayed his departure until evening, the wind being contrary. We remained patient, being better off on land than at anchor. I saw Messrs. Quesnel and Le Normand. After dinner, I went on board with Messrs. Valdenuit and Mouchet. At 6, we raised anchor in a fine breeze which conducted us all night long.

Sunday, 28 August 1796 *Settlement*. We went to hunt the bears but without success. Still no news about our livestock. Rest for our men.

Journey. Fine weather and good wind. We passed the High Lands, which my travel companions admired more than the fortifications at West Point. We had allowed ourselves the hope of arriving in Albany tomorrow, when, from wind and tide, we ran aground on the shoals at Esopus due to the captain's clumsiness. We lost a part of the night in getting ourselves free.

Monday, 29 August 1796 *Settlement*. Thinking that our livestock had to have gone further down than usual, since we could not find them in the surrounding area, I sent our men down the river in a canoe to discover the tracks of our oxen. After three miles, François and Meharis set foot on land and found them gathered together in a meadow. They brought them back towards noon. Baptiste and Piquet came back up with the canoe. The oxen were harnessed and the logs from clear-cutting on the site for the bridge were hauled away.

Our sheep came back from the mountain completely frightened: a lamb is missing. François and Baptiste went out with rifles, but they saw nothing and did not find the lamb.

Journey. The wind again favoring us, we passed by Hudson. The wind then become contrary, we tacked and again ran aground behind the cape at Kinderhook, at 2. This time, our captain managed things so expertly that the receding tide left us there on our side, competely dry. We were afraid that we would not be able to set ourselves upright, and it was only towards the first hours of morning that we got back afloat.

Tuesday, 30 August 1796 *Settlement*. Hauled using the oxen, and brought in the wood for building the bridge. Uprooted a large stump at the head of the bridge. Two waggons of provisions arrived for Mr. Brodhead. Baptiste went to cut some hay to feed the oxen in the cowshed.

Journey. Having got ourselves upright, we could make only two miles in a complete head wind, and we stayed at anchor all day long, across from the port of Kinderhook.

Wednesday, 31 August 1796 *Settlement*. Very heavy white frost, which made our sown land suffer and which must have done much harm to the maize in the neighborhood. Same tasks as yesterday.

Journey. The wind finally allowed us to leave, and towards nine we were one mile from Albany, when for the 3rd time, due to an absurd maneuver,

our captain threw us onto a bar of silt where we ran aground in a very violent wind.

We watched in vexation all the ships which had left after us go by, and it was only at 4 in the afternoon that we landed in Albany. I obtained lodgings for my travel companions and found my young cousin arrived from France in good health, as well as my family.

Thursday, First of September *Settlement*. François continued to bring over parts. Piquet and Meharis worked on assembling. Baptiste was busy in the garden.

Journey. Paid my calls. Introduced Messrs. Mouchet and Valdenuit. Saw Mr. Dewitt about the surveying.

Friday, 2 September *Settlement*. Heavy rain. Kept the men busy in the house making pegs, sharpening and fitting new handles to the tools.

Journey. We learned in the morning of M. Adet's arrival. M. Tillier did not, as he had promised me, come with him. We went to pay our respects to the ambassador and recommended to him the interests of our Company, as being useful to the commercial interests of our country.

Saturday, 3 September *Settlement*. Our men and Baptiste worked on the construction of the bridge. Killed a buzzard.

Journey. The ambassador came to pay us a visit. We had much to say about America and Americans. He is leaving to visit the mineral springs of Saratoga and Lake George. He will come back here, from where he will tour by way of Boston to get to New York, so that this journey will enable him to know the NE part of the United States well.

I recommended Messrs. Valdenuit and Mouchet to Mr. Gleen of Schenectady. He advised them to go there so that they might take advantage of the first opportunity.

Sunday, 4 7ber. 1796 *Settlement*. Rest. Fishing and hunting. Warren arrived and told us that he would come back here in a short time with three men to finish the road to Castorville.

Journey. We went to pay a visit to Mr. Cuyler, at his country home. He promised me some plants and grafts for Castorland.

Monday, 5 September *Settlement*. Our men and Baptiste worked on the construction for the bridge.

Journey. M. Adet left in the morning on his voyage north. This voyage greatly worries American politicians. The surveyor Crosby came to see me, with Mr. Greenlee. They informed me that Mr. Brown, who had made a business agreement for our road to the long falls, was in jail. Not having been paid, he had not been able to pay his company. Mr. Greenlee proposed to me

on his own behalf to finish the work on the same terms, which I accepted. I then gave him a letter for my brother, so that he would send the horses on ahead to Fort Schuyler for us.

Messrs. Valdenuit and Mouchet left for Schenectady and, following my advice, left at my house everything they could dispense with bringing.

Tuesday, 6 September 1796 *Settlement*. Same kind of work as yesterday. Some frames were assembled. Baptiste made a twelve foot ruler.

Journey. M. Tillier arrived from New York. We set a rendez-vous for the next day, in order to go over the Company's affairs.

Wednesday, 7 September *Settlement*. Same work as yesterday.

Journey. Spent the morning conferring with M. Tillier, who had not accepted the lodging which I had offered him for his stay in New York. We set our departure for the next day, with my young cousin, whom I introduced to him as someone I had asked to come, intending to employ him in the service of the Company, as we needed people whom we could count on.

Thursday, 8 September 1796 *Settlement*. Same kind of work. Placed the first 2 frames, with their struts.

Journey. Preparations for departure. Return of M. Adet. We leave at three for Schenectady, where we find M. Tassart, whom M. Olive has charitably procured for M. Tillier as an essential man; and a man named François Desmerets, a Canadian, who made with M. Tassart the campaign at Penet's square, and whom M. Tillier hired in New York. I am becoming aware that these gentlemen have not spared me any more than I had been expecting. It is still a general rule to malign and slander the persons towards whom one has been unjust. To do so is a recrimination made in advance in order to render suspect their just complaints, in case they should make any. Paid Mr. Murdock.

Friday, 9 September 1796 *Settlement*. Rain all night long and in the morning. Sharpened the tools and made pegs. In the afternoon, worked on the bridge construction.

Journey. Took the stage for Canajohary. There we found Mr. Smith returning to his home. He gave us some news about Mr. Brodhead, still in Fort Stanwix, and about the surveying, which is going slowly.

Saturday, 10 September 1796 *Settlement*. Our workers have raised two frames: they have much difficulty, there not being enough people. Baptiste killed two betsys, a species of duck; its flesh has the color and the taste of boiled beef.

Journey. Took the stage for White'stown. Arrived in the evening at Mr. Bagg's in Fort Schuyler.

Sunday, 11 inst *Settlement*. Rest. Our men fished and hunted.

Journey. I brought M. Tillier to make calls on the persons of our acquaintance. Sought uselessly to hire people.

Monday, 12 September 1796 *Settlement*. Given the rain, worked in the house making pegs and steps for a large ladder, necessary for the construction. The rise in the water was so prompt that it detached the ferry and the large canoe, which our men had much trouble in bringing back. In the evening, we saw a lunar rainbow.

Journey. Hired Hobby to go only to Castorland to get the horses: he left with my young cousin. The man named Gilsemain, a gardener, came to talk with us about lands. I engaged him to go follow our people and to spend a month in Castorland, which would give him the means of viewing them without it costing him anything.

The men are asking us up to 26 piastres per month. We have seen some being hired right in front of us at 20 piastres. Each month they are getting more scarce and more expensive. For work by the day, they are here being given one piastre, and fed.

Tuesday, 13 September *Settlement*. For several days have seen many small birds, gray with red markings. The Canadians say that their arrival announces the coming of cold weather and that in the winter these birds become completely red. Meharis could not work, having cut his heel yesterday. Piquet is sick. Baptiste, Francois and Ferlent have topped the maize.

Journey. We started on our way to go on foot to Fort Stanwix to see Mr. Brodhead while waiting for the arrival of our horses and M. Tillier's belongings. After 4 miles, we entered Colonel White's home, where we found Mr. Green, who had us stay for dinner. Rain irrupting made us decide to take advantage of an opportunity to write Mr. Brodhead to engage him to come join us at Fort Schuyler, where we returned in the evening.

Wednesday, 14 7ber. 1796 *Settlement*. My young cousin arrived yesterday evening and gave me news from France and my brother. I had Hobby leave this morning with the two horses. I put the gardener, who had joined up with them en route, in possession of the garden. He seems to me to know his work well. Our men worked on the bridge.

Journey. M. Tassart came to announce to M. Tillier the imminent arrival of his belongings by water, with the Canadian. We have dinner at Mr. Peter Smith's.

Mr. Brodhead arrived in the evening. We gave him the letter from the Company and conferred with him on the surveying. Ordered a plow from Hobby.

Thursday, 15 September *Settlement*. Sent to look for the oxen, without success. Worked on the construction frame. Felled trees in the enclosure. The gardener set up the plat-bands.

Journey. Continued discussing the surveying. Hobby arrived in the evening with our horses. Mr. Green pays us a visit and has supper with us.

Friday, 16 September *Settlement*. Same kind of work as yesterday. Again looked for the livestock, to no avail.

Journey. Arrival of the Canadian and of M. Tillier's belongings. We purchase some cloth at Mr. Post's. Preparations for our departure.

Saturday, 17 September *Settlement*. Same tasks as yesterday. At 2, Mr. Brodhead's waggons brought twelve barrels of flour. Sent back to Mr. Brodhead several items that he had left here as well as those of M. Tassart, with an inventory of these items delivered to the drivers.

Journey. M. Tillier having re-purchased from M. Tassart a horse, which we left at Fort Schuyler, we left toward nine with the Canadian without having been able to find any waggon to transport M. Tillier's belongings. Arrived at 3 at Mr. Boon's, to whom I introduced M. Tillier. Shoeing our horses kept us for the evening in this settlement. Ordered some harrow-teeth from the blacksmith.

Sunday, 18 September *Settlement*. Rest. Fishing good. In the chimney of the kitchen a fire caught but was promptly extinguished. My brother and M. Tillier arrived in the evening.

Journey. Left Olden Barnevelt (Boon). Breakfasted at Captain Kemp's, six miles on the new road. Saw Captain Cross, who has established three miles from there a saw-mill on the Black River. Found the road almost impassable in 7 to 8 places. The rest rather good. Stopped at Mr. Fisher's 15 miles further. Arrived at Castorland toward six in the evening.

Monday, 19 inst Piquet and Meharis felled and squared struts. François and Desmarets, the Canadian who came with M. Tillier, went to look for the oxen. They came back at four-thirty with 2 pair only, which were used to haul the squared parts. Baptiste made benches for our table.

Verified with M. Tillier the inventory of the Company's belongings. We showed him the enclosures, the road to Castorville and the meadow.

Note of the drafts delivered to M. Tillier by the Company

1st draft. from Le Ray on William Constable of New York drawn from Paris, 10 May,
by Pierre Chassanis for the sum of .....215 *écus* of 6 *livres* .... 15..... 1,290 #
2nd. draft *id. id. id* ..... 200 *écus* of *id* ..... 15..... 1200.
3rd draft *id. id. id*..... 390 *écus* of *id* ..... 20..... 2340.
4th draft, *id. id. id* ..... 410 *écus* of *id* ..... 25..... 2460.
Plus 300 piastres at 5#5s..... 1,575.

8865.

W.am Constable

31 May, at 30 days upon presentation	of the aforesaid *id.* 10 May.
850.	
750.	
650.	410.
550.	390.
450.	200
350.	215
250.	
150.	

Tuesday, 20 September 1796 M. Tillier having agreed with M. Tassart to take the latter's two mattresses, two blankets and a bed sheet of sacking, they have consequently been evaluated at the sum of nine piastres and recorded in the inventory. Baptiste having repaired the waggon yesterday evening, it was loaded with the chest of Dixon the carpenter, to be deposited at Fort Schuyler. Gave Baptiste the list of errands to do at Fort Schuyler. I gave him eighty piastres in bank notes for the purchases. He left with Sabourin at 9. M. Tillier, on 8 September, deposited 200 piastres in the Bank of Albany; he withdrew 100 on the 9th. M. Tillier and Colinet went by canoe to view the river. Piquet, Meharis and Desmarets worked on the bridge. The gardener, in the garden.

Due to the arrival of the new commissioner, a plot has been formed among our people to abandon us. The Ferlent family was proposing to go keep an inn at Fort Stanwix. The gardener was to leave with Meharis, his compatriot, and Piquet was supposed to follow them. One needs a great deal of care to manage Canadian temperaments. Finally, we succeeded in making them, one after the other, promise to stay until the end of the campaign. As a precaution, and to forestall the consequences of a desertion, which already happened to us more than once, we charged Baptiste with hiring men if he is able to get any.

M. Tillier installed Colinet as store keeper with a salary of fifteen piastres per month.

Wednesday, 21 September 1796 Felled and squared some trees for the bridge. The gardener set up the plat-bands. Desmarets sick. We have made plans to visit Mr. Shaylor's settlement and hire one of the families to spend the winter here, in case the Ferlent family should leave.

Thursday, 22 September The squaring of the jambs and other pieces of timber for the bridge were finished. Made frames. I made out my account for M. Tillier: my brother made a fair copy of it.

Friday, 23 September 1796 Same tasks as yesterday. At one, Mr. Stow, Miller and another man came to propose to us to sign the petition that our neighbors wish to make to request the registration of the Steuben road here as a state road. I answered them that in the month of June 1794, the baron

de Steuben had invited the Township inspectors to his home and that we had presented them a petition to this end, and that they had registered this route under the name of *Canada Road*.[52] This negotiating was meant to lead to a proposal that we contribute to the road's improvement. We replied to them that we had cut and opened it entirely at our own expense; and that we would contribute our share of the surplus, if it should be needed, after the settlers should have spent as much as we had.

M. Tillier finding himself indisposed with dysentery, Desmarets was put to work digging a ditch for a latrine near the house. Night freezing cold.

Saturday, 24 September 1796 After breakfast, visited with M. Tillier the swamp two miles from here, which is very suitable for making a meadow and a good farm at little expense. He was very satisfied with this spot. Piquet & Meharis worked on the bridge, Desmarets on the latrine.

Sunday, 25 September Desmarets was sent on the Fort Stanwix road to engage the Alsatian to come see us: he was not there. In the evening, all of our livestock came back on their own.

Monday, 26 September 1796 The gardener and Desmarets went in the large canoe to get a load of clay; Desmarets then filled in the interstices of our loghouse.

Gilsemain worked on setting up the garden. Piquet & Meharis on the frame for the bridge.

Tuesday, 27 September 1796 My brother and M. Tillier left after breakfast to see the Alsatian, ¾ of a mile from here, and Mr. Shailor. They did not find them, got lost and came back at 6 in the evening. Desmarets continued coating the loghouse. The nights being very cool, this task is pressing. Piquet and Meharis worked on the framework of the bridge. The gardener grubbed up some stumps in the squares.

Wednesday, 28 inst This morning, the old waggon was brought back over to this side. The lamb which remained to us was killed.

Nota: M. Tillier has delivered Mr. Constable's contract to Mr. Brodhead in Fort Schuyler in order to have his wife's ratification registered.

The rain forced Piquet and Meharis to come back. They re-sharpened their tools, sawed and dressed planks to make the door to the cellar. Desmarets finished raising the frame for the latrine shed. Baptiste and François arrived during the night with the waggon. The belongings were transported and unpacked here. Mr. John Smith of White'stown sent me a cheese, the first present which I have received in America.

Thursday, 29 inst At 4 in the afternoon, arrived Messrs. Henry Boutin, Riedain, his wife and the son of one of their friends, bearers of letters from

Messrs. Chassanis and Le Ray. They are coming to settle. They also handed me a letter from Mr. Seton for me and one from M. Chassanis.

The gardener worked on preparing the embankment by the river. Desmarets squared planks for covering the latrine. François went to look for the oxen, which were used to haul timbers for the bridge. Ferlent, sick for several days, is weakening greatly. Cretendon and his son came to ask for the payment for the road to Fort Stanwix. We have given M. and Madame Riedain the loft to sleep in. We are six who must sleep in the small study on the ground. Baptiste brought back the bell for the bull.

Friday, 30 September

M. Riedain, as the authorized representative of M. Pierre Chassanis, of the same as guardian of Amélie-Cécile Chassanis his daughter, and of Mlle Marie-Sophie Le Ray his wife, presented us:

1st. The power of attorney of the said Pierre Chassanis to the said Antoine Riedain dated 19 July of the same.

2nd. a certificate for delivery of *coupons divis*, numbered 139, under the numbers 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962 and 285, making .....450 acres.

3rd. The procuration of the said as guardian of Amélie-Cécile Chassanis his daughter, to the said Mr. Antoine Riedain dated on the same day.

4th. a certificate for delivery of the *coupons divis*, numbered 137, under the numbers 350, 351, 352, 286, 287, 288, 328, 329, and 330, making .....450 acres.

5th. the procuration of Mlle. Marie-Sophie Le Ray, wife Chassanis, to the said Mr. Antoine Riedain, under the same date.

6th. a certificate for delivery of *coupons divis*, numbered 138, under the numbers 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, and 289, making .....450 acres.

1350 acres.

The same day M. Anne-Henry Boutin presented us in his name a certificate for delivery of *coupons divis* numbered 144, delivered by the director 22 June 1796, under the number 1195, 1196, 1197, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, making 500 acres.

Cretendon and his son left at 5 in the morning. The father returned accompanied by Messrs. Ellis and World, who certified that the road was completed. His business agreement was paid off, and he gave a receipt for 32 dollars, three shillings, two pence.

M. Tillier settled the account and received the remainder of the money as cash.

The gardener planted some strawberry plants. Piquet and Meharis worked on the bridge. François brought the wood. Put in order the accounting to

be kept by M. Tillier, who settled with Baptiste the expenditures for the last journey.

Saturday, First of October Messrs. Stow, Edmond and a dozen neighbors to the Steuben road came here, according to the rendez-vous which they had given each other, to confer on the direction to be given to the Steuben road. We showed them the map of the proposed routes. They recognized that the Steuben road was generally well marked. Mr. White of Steuben came soon after with a waggon of provisions. We engaged him as well as Edmond to have dinner with us. Mr. White rented a canoe from us to go down to the long falls, where he is going to survey. The gardener worked on preparing the alley along the river. Desmarets and Baptiste changed the covering of the roof in order to allow smoke to escape, and have made a kind of exterior conduit out of planks. Piquet, François and Meharis worked on the bridge and raised two frames. The Indian who stayed here this spring with his son arrived in the evening in his canoe with one of his comrades.

Sunday, 2 October 1796 Sent Baptiste and Piquet on horseback to Hobbard's, to see if we could obtain there the planks which M. Le Ray engaged himself to furnish to M. Boutin, given that the mills of the Company not yet existing, it is impossible to furnish him with them here; and that the mills nearest Castorland are those of Hobbard, 7 miles, and Shailor, 5 miles from the great fall.

Made an inventory of the food to be left here from 1st November to the first of April. Calculated for 7 persons resident and 10 counting those here for special reasons. The persons who must reside this winter are: Victor Collinet, store keeper; Ferlent, his wife and three children; Piquet and Sabourin, Canadians; and carpenters. Baptiste and Piquet came back in the evening, they did not find Hobbard. But Piquet thinks that his mill is not in a condition to furnish the needs of the neighborhood even. Our new arrivals from France found the reality very different from the idea which they had formed. They saw Castorland as a Normandy, or the environs of Paris, and they thought that they only needed to come and settle. They did not suspect that here, if one wishes to eat bread, one has to bring flour, etc.

Monday, 3 October 1796 Our new settlers have asked for the waggon to be sent to get their belongings at Fort Schuyler; accordingly, we have made out our dispatches for the region. Wrote to Mr. Whetmore, a miller in White'stown, to ask him for flour and fat pork for our salting, and if he could place our oxen for the winter. Wrote to Messrs. Peter Smith and Nathan Smith about placing our oxen, and selling or placing our horses for this winter. M. Tillier had the 2 sheep slaughtered. Desmarets skinned them and cut them up. Made a note of the items to be reported. Wrote to Albany. At 11, Hobbard arrived. We made a verbal agreement with him to get two thousand feet of maple plank at the rate of 5 piastres per thousand; and five

hundred feet of cherry at the rate of 7 piastres the thousand, to be delivered as soon as possible. These furnishings will suffice to keep our men busy this winter making the floors, walls and cupboard that will be needed. Baptiste made two benches. Piquet, Meharis and François almost got crushed this evening by the fall of a large frame that they were raising, the return rope having broken. This accident made them delay and prevented the last frame from being placed.

Tuesday, 4 October 1796 M. Riedain having engaged himself to spend the winter in Castorland with M. Boutin, it is decided that these gentlemen will go down the river with us to the long falls, where, for lack of anything better, we offered them our loghouse to spend the winter there, while waiting until they can build one for themselves in the spring. Consequently, the departure of the waggon is delayed. Upon our return, these gentlemen will decide, after seeing things for themselves, whether they can spend the winter in this region. The gardener continued to lay out the slope of the river and planted it with strawberry plants. Baptiste and Desmarets went on a search for our livestock. The others were at work on the bridge. Piquet took a fall in placing a purlin. He fortunately suffered nothing more than a few bruises. Two batches of bread were baked for our voyage, which will make M. Tillier acquainted with the country up to the long falls, as well as with the location of Castorville and the mills at the two sites. Wrote M. Olive so that he would withdraw from the hands of Mr. Constable the sum of one thousand pounds, being part of the drafts drawn by M. Le Ray and accepted by Mr. Constable. Wrote Mr. Constable accordingly.

Wednesday, 5 October 1796 François and Desmarets left this morning to look for the rest of the livestock. Piquet, unwell from his fall, not being able to work on the bridge, Meharis was put to work cutting up fire-wood for the enclosure. The gardener continued his planting. Baptiste assembled a large pitsaw. After dinner he went with François and the gardener on a search for the livestock, again without being able to find them. Desmarets cut some wood around the house for the oven. The young pair of oxen escaped from the stable. Not being able to catch up with them, we had to let the last one go after attaching a bell, hoping that by catching up with the others, he will be of help in getting them to return.

Thursday, 6 October 1796 This morning the oxen who escaped yesterday were found and brought back. Used the young pair to haul out from the enclosure the wood for heating. Baptiste, François and Desmarets finally brought back the rest of our livestock. They were used to haul logs.

Piquet repaired the large canoe, made a scoop for bailing and helped Baptiste in the loading of our preparations. Colinet, after finishing a lathe which he had been working on for several days, made a stretcher. M. Tillier entrusted to Baptiste a gold watch to be sold and four hundred piastres for

the purchases of flour and pork. Messrs. Riedain and Boutin requested that three barrels of flour and two bushels of salt be brought for them.

Friday, 7 October *Settlement*. At eight in the morning M. Tillier, my brother, M. Boutin, M. Riedain, Piquet, Desmarets, and the gardener left for the long falls in the large canoe. At nine, Baptiste and François left with the waggon to bring our letters, make our purchases at Fort Schuyler and bring back the new arrivals' belongings as well as flour. I put Colinet, Meharis and the young Bahme to work gathering ears of maize. In the evening, we all set about husking them.

Journey. Left at 8 in good weather. We camped in the evening 7 miles from Beaver River, on our side. One hundred paces from the shore, we saw some beautiful meadows, 2 to 3 miles deep. Caught some fish.

Saturday, 8 October 1796 *Settlement*. Same kind of work. Ferlent, who has been sick for three months, is weakening to the point that he cannot get up.

Journey. Left at 6:45. 3 miles past the Beaver River, we noticed a very large moose, and which had come to drink at the river. Piquet and Desmarets got out with two rifles, but came back without having been able to catch up with it. Arrived at 2 at the loghouse at the long falls, where we found everything in good condition.

M. Tillier inspected the layout of the canal. He thinks that excavating into the rock would be too costly and beyond the means of the Company. I showed these gentlemen the various locations of the falls, the spring near the house, which spring is on the path which leads to Meridian Rock. An Indian hut of conical shape was constructed last winter, very near this spring and on the path. Discussion between M. Tillier and M. Boutin on selecting lots. We slept in the house. Piquet and Desmarets went to camp under the tent at the landing, to guard the canoe.

Sunday, 9 October *Settlement*. Colinet and the children went by canoe to get a provision of nuts and maidenhair fern. Our neighbor the Alsatian came to see us. Rest.

Journey. According to the article of the Constitution which grants proprietors the right of choosing on location their lots in the sections which were surveyed before the making of the map, M. Boutin designated his choice on the river, beginning from the line above the long falls, which line marks what is reserved to the Company.[53]

Left this morning at 8. Killed a duck. Saw many deer and moose tracks. Saw an otter swimming and carrying a fish in its mouth. Arrived at two at the entrance of Beaver River. Saw a small water snake, striped yellow and black. Sounded the river. Up to a distance of 7 miles found 5, 6, 7, and 8 feet of depth. The river, very winding, is hard to go up, although we are at low water. The places which are filled with herbage were grazed by moose and deer, of which we can see numerous tracks.

Went up the first rapid, above which we came across a pretty island on our left. We got out and went up on foot along the river to look for the first falls. We sent the gardener to follow the other shore. Returning to tell us that he had not seen any falls, we went back down to camp below the first rapid, next to a small creek of bad water, very yellow, the color of wash water. This creek makes many windings and when the waters rise must be large. The bottom of the terrain is clay. The Beaver River has many lily-pads along its shores.

Monday, 10 October 1796 *Settlement*. Same kind of work as day before yesterday. Ferlent has worsened to the point of leaving no hope.

Journey. Left toward 8, to examine the site for Castorville. Found the corner-post, marked C.V.1796, and next to it a beech-tree marked I.S.1796[54] a quarter mile from our camp. Followed the river. Found the springs designated on the map. Followed the path of the Indian portage until the rock on the river, where it ends. 50 paces further, we found a young beech-tree marked C.V.1796. Upon going up a little further, we saw other rapids and cascades, as well as a very large rock on our side, advancing into the river and making a kind of landing for canoes. While coming back, we discovered a line going down to the river, and, upon noticing that the bark of a pine tree marked C.V.1796 had been removed, the debris of which were on the ground, we cut with a knife the same letters and numbers onto the tree. We caught up with M. Tillier near the young beech which was marked for a boundary; finally, we came back along the river while examining sites for mills. The first site is very good, and the canal appears easy to make. The second is even better, and the third, indicated across from the large island, is now dry, as is the channel which separates the round island from another island which is long and narrow.

Came back to have dinner at the camp at 2 thirty. Wishing next to look for a site suitable for establishing the Company's farm, we went down by canoe 5 . . . [55] to a half-mile from the camp, to a fine meadow where is found an abundant stream, for the season, and the water of which is clear and very good. We went up the meadow, which became narrower along the stream, up to a small mountain of clayey sand. In going up we followed the course of the same stream into a rather wide valley, which will be easily made into a good meadow. From there, we reached the plateau of the mountain which slopes gently at the head of and all along the meadow, the borders of which are rather elevated along the river. At the foot of the mountain which surrounds the meadow, there runs a canal which functions as a discharge for the river during the high waters. The soil of this canal is, at the present moment, very dry. There are very few trees, and clearing will be a very easy matter. This terrain will be equally suitable for gardening, or for growing linen and hemp.

The long island which one encounters while going up after passing over the rocks on the left, and which is separated from the fine meadow at Castorville

by a channel good for boats, is full of cotton-grass,[56] a grass, the pod of which produces a kind of cotton, warm and silky. Many specks of iron in the sands at the falls; saw some blue granite, some lilac, mica in the larger rocks which are of the same ferruginous type as those at the great fall.[57]

Tuesday, 11 October 1796 *Settlement*. Ferlent died toward one in the morning. Meharis made a coffin for him, and we buried him toward ten. We continued to pick maize. Gave to Marguerite 11 yards of cloth to make a straw mattress for the men to sleep on.

Journey. After breakfast, we left with M. Tillier to show him the meadow which we had examined yesterday evening. We went down by canoe up to the mouth of the creek, and by following it we entered the meadow. Having reached about the third of the meadow, we went to the left, onto the height which bounds it, and having followed a small part of the course of the creek into the valley, we met the batteau which Piquet was bringing up. M. Boutin got in with me. M. Tillier, accompanied by Desmarets, got back to camp by following the river. As we were in the batteau, we crossed to the other side, where we saw a meadow larger than the one which we had just inspected; but the water of its creek is bad. This meadow faces the other one, and seems to be of the same length.

Reimbarked and left at 10:45. M. Tillier got out to view the meadow across from our camp. A little further on, got out to view another, very long meadow, very low in the middle, its bottom filled with a yellow and stagnant water. A little further on, another meadow with fine creek. Tall, dense hay, and in clumps. Many tracks of large game. Wide and long meadow on our left. Going down a little further, the largest meadow that we have yet seen. We crossed it, M. Boutin and I, in its width, among the *atocas* (crane berry), which fill its middle, and the shrubs which adorn its perimeter. At the end, we found a valley and a creek. We recrossed diagonally the same meadow to catch up with the canoe. A little beyond we saw the mouth of the creek which traverses it. This meadow is on the right as one goes down. A little further, on our left, a small round beaver meadow, then another, smaller one. They are separated by a hillock and located a little beyond two large rocks which one encounters in the river. Fresh moose tracks on the edges of the small beaver meadow two miles below the two rocks. On our right, fine meadow, with one of the largest creeks which we have seen today. We were not able to see its full extent, having disembarked at a place too far down. ½ mile further down, on the left, very large meadow, where I disembarked. There were some rather large trees at intervals, with fine grasses beneath and no undergrowth. I inspected it a second time with M. Tillier. At the mouth of the creek, which is now nearly dry, fine hay in several spots, but many tall trees. A moment later we entered the Black River. Toward 1:15, had dinner on our land, in the part which M. de Chaumont has had sold to him by the Company. Land excellent, walnut trees, maples, oaks; wild rye and cotton-

grass on the upper shore, fine hay. Camped at 4:30 on our lands, 6 miles from the Beaver River.

Wednesday, 12 8ber. 1796 *Settlement*. Marguerite and Meharis washed the laundry. Colinet went to get a load of maidenhair fern. Madame Riedain made the bread and did the cooking. Messrs. Stow & Store rented the small canoe to go down to the long falls. In the evening, we husked maize.

Journey. Left at 8:20. Our camp is on a terrain of clayey sand, on the left back of the first creek that one encounters, a little after passing Beaver River. One can say that from Castorville to the Black River, and from there, going up or down from the high to the long falls,[58] there are only meadows or lands with meadows, interspersed with small hills. As soon as this country begins to become inhabited, cleared land will appear as if by magic, and several years of settlements will entirely discover this beautiful country; which will be due to the ease of clearing the river's shores, where the trees are at a distance from each other, with, in the wet areas, ferns and willows underneath. Often these few trees serve only as a curtain to beautiful meadows which extend more or less deeply. Got out at noon to have dinner.

At 1:30, we found Mr. Guitteau's canoe run aground. Piquet, having emptied it out, proposed to bring it back up by poling; but we had to give that up, as it was leaking water through a large hole. Stopped to camp at 4. The creek which traverses the meadow near which we are spending the night is abundant in spite of the season. Bottom of clay. Its water clear and good. This meadow is one of the most beautiful that we have seen since Beaver River.

Thursday, 13 October 1796 *Settlement*. The weather being cloudy, we started on the maize as soon as it was morning. Madame Riedain ironed. Marguerite continued the washing.

Journey. Left at 7:45 in the morning. At 8:30, encountered in our little canoe Messrs. Stow and company who were going down to the long falls to view the lands. At 9, got out at the rock; inspected the plateau and the immense meadow of Independence River. Had dinner 8 miles from the departure, at the mouth of creek of good water. It seemed to us to emerge from the ground 200 paces away. In the springtime, there are many other springs which flow and water this immense terrain, suitable for conversion into meadows or plowable land, similar to those of the Mohawk, the shores of the river having the same elevation. Most of the meadows are lower, or at the level of the river, in its current state, and the shores of the Black River form so many dykes which are cut either by the mouths of creeks or by natural canals, through which the high waters surge deep into the meadows, and from which they pour out as the river-level goes down. There are often behind these dykes, ditches and rear-ditches for the discharge of the waters and the natural defense of the terrain.

At 12:30, arrived at the rapid of Otter Creek. Disembarked several times to reconnoiter the meadow which was mowed last year. Camped at 4:30 in this meadow. Mosquitoes, flies and *brûlots* still exist, but in small numbers. Last year's haystacks have collapsed much. The new hay is nearly 6 feet high. This meadow seems to have a square surface area. The long meadow between this one and the one where we breakfasted, has a large expanse in depth. Brought back from this meadow an *aquilegia*, of a very attractive shape, in form like an antique sauce-boat.[59] Saw another plant, very singular, the stem of which is 2 and a half feet high. It resembles branches of coral, with white pearls at the ends, which are terminated by a small protruding black dot and a small cavity. The stem of the plant is, like the plant itself, of a brilliant red and shiny like porcelain. The stem is more slender at the foot than near the top. The seed enclosed in the white envelope of the pearl is black; and its kernel, white. There are 8 seeds enclosed in each pearl.

Friday, 14 October *Settlement*. With rain threatening, we all began as soon as it was morning to pick the beans and bring them near the buildings.

Toward noon, M. Tillier and his company arrived in good health.

Journey. The edge of the meadow where we camped this night, although elevated at least 15 feet, is covered with the debris of trees brought by the river's floodings, the waters of which are held back by a sand bar a little further down. The side across from us is a little less elevated, flat, covered with walnut, hornbeam, maple, with its border, a meadow at the river's edge. Yesterday evening, a half hour after we went to bed, the fire caught on the tent of our men. It was not greatly damaged, but the gardener lost his jacket and vest. This morning, weather cloudy. Found some spice wood, the seed of which is a rather pleasant spice. Left at 8. Fine meadow and fine creek two miles from the camp. Saw our livestock at 3 miles. Arrived at the great fall toward noon. Mr. Brodhead arrived a moment after we did. Two of his men did not get here until evening. M. Riedain who, before our departure, had on my brother's advice delayed making his choice on behalf of M. Chassanis until the map was completed, was so charmed by what he had seen that he insisted on making it immediately; and located it at the corner of the mouth on the right of Beaver River, the squares of the lines 13 and 14, 14 and 15, 15 and 16, and the lines 8 & 7, 7 & 6, 6 & 5. M. Boutin made his choice in the square bordered by the river and the lines 19 and 20, 20 & 21.

Saturday, 15 October This morning, we made an inventory of Ferlent's belongings, signed by us and by Piquette and Desmarets, two Canadian workers. M. Tillier charged Mr. Brodhead with getting all the fieldbooks copied, in order to consolidate them into a single one. Two of Mr. Shaylor's workers came to give us an answer on the cost of timber. One-inch planks of white wood, spruce and maple they have set at 6 dollars the thousand-foot;

inch and a half thick floor board at 8 dollars *id*.; 2 inch-thick planks 10 dollars; beams, 6 dollars.

Paid Gilsemain, gardener, one month, 15 dollars, two pence; and Meharis, 59 dollars, 2 pence. The gardener and Meharis, aided by two of Mr. Brodhead's men, finished gathering the Indian corn. Messrs. Boutin and Riedain have undertaken to make a canoe for their future settlement. Piquet began a maize loft. Baptiste and François came back this evening with the waggon and our guests' belongings. Everything was transported here in the evening.

Sunday, 16 October Meharis and the gardener left this morning. Mr. Brodhead worked on a large map of the tracts neighboring the Company, and to which he added Penet's square. Made promises to Messrs. Boutin and Riedain to grant title for the lots chosen by them as soon as the map was made. I represented to them in vain that they had seen only a single site; that for myself, I had not wanted to make my choice before knowing the whole: they were so afraid that some other person would come seize the object that they desired, that I had no choice but to give in to them. They even seemed to believe that my objections were self-seeking, in spite of my reassuring them that their choice was very far removed from the site that I intended to select. These premature choices will cause much awkwardness*[60] in finishing the map as well as in designating the lands sold to M. Le Ray, which the Company should have left to us to designate, which lands already overlap with the sale made to M. Olive.

Monday, 17 October 1796 François went to look for the oxen, which were then used to drag timbers to make a shed with a southern exposure, adjoining the large loghouse and extending to the garden gate. To this end, we took the forty-two foot pieces of lumber intended for the bridge, which M. Tillier had discontinued. Piquet worked on this shed, and Desmarets on Mr. Brodhead's canoe, whose men had helped us Saturday to finish the maize. Began the general inventory of the Company's belongings. Messrs. Stow, Stores, etc. came back from the long falls and paid M. Tillier five shillings for renting the canoe. Mr. Brodhead finished the map begun yesterday. Conferred with our neighbors on the subject of the road to King'stown.

Tuesday, 18 October 1796 Delivered the three commitments to transfer title for the lots chosen by M. Riedain for M., Mme., and Mlle. Chassanis. At M. Tillier's order, Piquet left off working on the shed, begun yesterday, in order to make the door to the cellar. François brought some sawn lumber, to raise higher the chimney in the kitchen; he then went to look for the livestock. One of Mr. Brodhead's workers and Desmarets made some mortar for the chimney. Desmarets was sent to the meadow by M. Tillier in order to measure the amount of hay that it might contain. Continued the

inventory. Mr. Brodhead worked on a map of the surrounding area and delivered to M. Boutin a map of his lot.

In the evenings, husking maize is continued.

Wednesday, 19 October The potatoes were harvested. In the evening, François brought back two pair of oxen. Desmarets and Mr. Brodhead's man worked on the chimney. In the evening, continued with the maize. Upon M. Tillier remarking that there were too many dogs (to be sure, we had two of our own, and two that the Indians had left us to watch during their traveling), I gave mine to Mr. Brodhead. In the evening, as on the preceding days, maize was husked after supper.

Thursday, 20 October 1796 Mr. Brodhead left at eleven with some provisions and two men in our large canoe. It was agreed upon between him, M. Tillier and myself, that he would come back to Albany at the end of his surveying work; that he would draw up the map before my eyes; and that, when it should be finished, M. Tillier, upon my so informing him, would go there so that we could make at once the division of the *divis* and the *indivis*, as well as of the 20,500 acres available.

It was agreed that Mr. Brodhead's pension would be paid to me for the time that he would spend at my home, I asking for no special treatment for my work other than the reimbursement of my expenses. M. Tillier thanked me very much and said to me that as he was new in this operation, I would be rendering an essential service to him as well as to the Company. Mr. Brodhead is supposed to come back within two weeks.

Mr. Brodhead's new canoe was hauled by our oxen to the river and launched: one side of this canoe is not true. Piquet finished the door to the cellar and installed two strap hinges. Desmarets finished raising the kitchen chimney. François and Baptiste pulled up potatoes. Gave to Baptiste the errands for Fort Schuyler and the note of the items to be bought.

Messrs. Boutin and Riedain, convinced of the impossibility of procuring supplies in time to spend the winter at the long falls, give up their plan and, following our advice, make the decision to spend it at Fort Schuyler, where their belongings will be reconducted tomorrow. Arranged at Mr. Storms's store for 3 bushels of salt at 22 sh. the bushel. M. Tillier gave Piquet a list of the workers which he wanted him to hire in Canada for next year's work projects: 2 master carpenters at 24 piastres per month; 4 journeymen carpenters, at 15 piastres; a master mason, at 24 piastres; a bricklayer at 15 piastres; a blacksmith at 24 piastres; six day laborers at 12 piastres. Total: 15 men. These workers will bring their tools. Their wages will run from the day of their departure, and they will not be paid any travel expenses; finally, they must arrive by the 15th of April.

Wednesday, 21 October Advanced to M. Riedain 20 dollars, on his recognizance. Delivered 90 dollars to Baptiste for the purchases to be made.

Messrs. Boutin and Riedain have signed an acknowledgment for 37 dollars for transporting belongings and food for four people for twenty-one days. Our new settlers took the ferry across at nine, to go to Fort Schuyler. They left us, convinced that there was no ill will on our part and that, if they had been deceived, it was by those who had given them a false idea of the settlement, although they were in fact in a position to know the truth from our letters. Their baggage is conducted by François, Piquet and Baptiste. Piquet is charged with purchasing carpenter tools. Messrs. Boutin and Riedain have left some of their belongings under M. Colinet's guard.

At noon, a man brought us a letter for Mr. Brodhead from Mr. Barnard, of Fort Stanwix, in answer to the request that he had made him for flour and men for our settlement. M. Tillier wrote him in answer, asking for the price of flour brought by sledge here next winter, and informs him that M. Boutin having left, it is not necessary to send him any men.

Mr. White, the surveyor, came back from the long falls, where he surveyed with two men a township in Boylston. He paid M. Tillier a pound[61] for renting the canoe. Desmarets cut some wood for the oven.

Saturday, 22 October 1796 M. Colinet and Desmarets left with the three horses to bring back some salt from Mr. Storm's store, eleven miles from here; they came back at 5, with two bushels of rock salt and one bushel of white salt. The crupper of one of the saddles was lost.

Sunday, 23 inst M. Tillier went with M. Colinet and Desmarets, the only worker we have left, to show them the site which he intends to make into a meadow next year, and which Desmarets and François are to clear this autumn.

Monday, 24 October 1796 Jonathan Wolcott came to offer us his services for managing a saw-mill. We gave him a letter for Edmond and Warren in order to have their answer as to whether they will continue the Castorland road, which they have contracted for and then abandoned.

We also had a visit from Robinson who spent last winter here. He brought us a letter from Baptiste, whom he had met in Steuben, and who was held up by a broken wheel on our waggon. Desmarets sawed some fire wood. In the evening, he brought back our filly which he had found caught in the mud; he had her brought into the enclosure.

Tuesday, 25. 8ber. 1796 We went this morning to get the horses, in order to go back for the salt. Not finding them, Desmarets used the day to pull up peas and cut the oats which were unable to reach maturity. For several days now, M. Colinet has been put to work in the office. My brother has copied all the documents that M. Tillier has brought. As for me, especially since M. Tillier's return from Beaver River, seeing that this new administrator is shocked whenever I take anything upon myself, and that his plan is to do exactly the opposite of everything that I did; after several unpleasant

moments, I have come to a decision, and I absolutely no longer get myself involved in anything. But as I do not like as much as he does to sit by the fireplace, I have begun to work on the causeway for the landing that I am making with rocks that I gathered from the surrounding area and have piled up. This exercise keeps me busy and distracts my thoughts.

Wednesday, 26 October 1796 M. Tillier, who joins to the function of managing commissioner for the Company that of M. Le Ray de Chaumont's official representative, has made in this latter function the selection of 8000 acres of land which the Company has sold to M. Le Ray. I represented to him that sometimes the interests of the Company could turn out to be contrary to the interests of M. Le Ray; and that, in this case, his situation would be embarrassing. My late friend would not have charged himself with such a double commission. But M. Tillier finds it quite natural, and I am quite persuaded that he believes what he says.*[62]

M. Colinet and Desmarets left with the horses to get some salt. They brought back four bushels. M. Colinet also brought us back Edmond's response: it is very American, signifying nothing, and yet he promises to come at the beginning of next week. Paid Mr. Storm 4 £. 11 sh. 6 pence.

Thursday, 27 October 1796 Colinet worked in the office; my brother, on the accounts. Desmarets built up and raised earth around the loghouse for the kitchen. We looked in vain for the filly, which we believe died somewhere from her weakened state. Ate the last chicken which Baptise had brought.

Friday, 28 October M. Tillier had this morning a double ration of rum given to Desmarets, as he is leaving early to go look for the oxen. Two day laborers, sent to Mr. Brodhead, on M. Boutin's account, arrived before dinner. They were bearers of 2 letters from Mr. Gould from Fort Stanwix for Mr. Brodhead. M. Tillier made a point of reading them. These two workers also delivered 4 tin plates for M. Boutin. M. Boutin having left, M. Tillier offered to these 2 men to work on our behalf. Accordingly, Messrs. Tillier and Colinet conducted them to the meadow a mile and a half from here, and it was proposed to them that they clear about sixty-six acres either at a set price or by the day, for the 15 days for which they are engaged. After dinner, the workers cut some stalks of maize at their foot. Desmarets came at 8 in the morning with the 2 pair of oxen and the heifer. Next, he removed the skin from the filly, which he found dead next to the enclosure.

The two men who came for M. Boutin, one of whom is named Frayre and the other Meyer, hired on for a month at the rate of 15 piastres each.

Saturday, 29 October M. Tillier had the yellow cow slaughtered in order to have some fresh meat. The two men, after helping Desmarets slaughter her, left to begin clearing the future meadow. Desmarets spent the day cutting up and salting the cow. It produced a barrel and a half of meat, around 300 lbs.

Rented the new canoe to Mr. Wright, a surveyor who is going to the long falls at the rate of one shilling per day. M. Colinet copied the inventory. My brother continued putting it in order in the register and, in the same register, he set up an open account with all the workers.

Sunday, 30 October One of Mr. Brodhead's workers, who arrived here yesterday evening, and who left him in good health at the long falls, left to go down to Fort Stanwix. M. Tillier handed him a letter in answer to Mr. Gould. Finished copying the inventory into the store keeper's register. Edmond and Warren came before dinner, and M. Tillier canceled the business agreement which I had made with them to cut the 21 miles of the road to Castorville. Paid the two miles of road which they have cut.

In the morning, Piquet returned with six pigs bought by Baptiste.

After dinner, François arrived and asked for some maize for the oxen while waiting for the waggon to be repaired, although loaded with only 4 barrels of flour. It had broken down a mile and a half from here. We sent Piquet for it, and the waggon, repaired, arrived at night.

Monday, 31 October Our men were supposed to leave this morning with the waggon to go to Topping's to get the mill irons; but one of the young oxen got away while they were trying to get them to cross the river. It was impossible to catch him and, in order to replace the incomplete pair, they had to go get one of the pair which returned yesterday. The waggon came back at night from Topping's. In the evening, Mr. Brodhead arrived from the long falls. He brought back in the long canoe two barrels of charcoal for us. Frayre and Meyer worked on the meadow. Piquet set up the hand-powered mill, and when M. Tillier saw it work, he was, like Thomas, convinced that this machine was useful.

Sunday, 1st of November 1796 A little snow having fallen, M. Tillier declared to us that he would leave the next day. I represented to him that there was nothing yet to fear, and that we had left last year only on December 1. He said to us that we could stay if we wanted, but that he would leave. He therefore made a list of his instructions for M. Colinet, and each worker individually, on what they would have to do; read these to them; and had them either sign or make their mark. Matters being so well established (as he has not the slightest doubt that each will do exactly as he has ordered), he packed his trunks.

In the morning, Mr. Brodhead left for Fort Stanwix. The irons for the 3 mills were brought in and locked up. M. Tillier gave to M. Colinet, to be used for pay, sixty piastres. My brother gave to M. Tillier a copy of the inventory, the documents for his account and the open account.

Monday, 2 November We left at 9 in the morning, M. Tillier, my brother and I, leaving M. Colinet to guard the store and distribute the rations, but without authority over the conduct of the workers, each one of whom,

whether he knows how to read or not, has in writing what he is supposed to do, which, if they do execute it, will be very advantageous.

I left Castorland with a premonition that I would never return here, and that I would have all the difficulty and dangers for my share, while a newcomer would enjoy, or rather destroy, the little that I had accomplished with our scanty means. It was a little hard to leave just when, the surveying completed, the condition of the Company would enable it to furnish means sufficient to carry out the plans that I had formed and to contribute to the prosperity of this region, of which I prided myself on being one day the founder. The projects of this world are as fragile as the being who gives them birth. But to my aid came the resignation which, many times already, I have had grounds to exercise for things much dearer, and after several moments of reflection, I followed peaceably a colleague very different from my unfortunate friend. There is no reason to fear that this one will perish while risking himself, and he will indeed know how to preserve himself.

Had dinner at Edmond's. Visited Mr. Storm. Slept at Captain Kemp's, 23 miles from Castorland. We found a considerable number of new causeways on the new road to Boon. They hope to complete it this autumn.

Thursday, 3 November 1796 Breakfasted at Mr. Boon's tavern, to whom we paid a visit. He could not give us an assured price for the flour, telling us that that of wheat was not yet fixed. We arrived at 4 at Mr. Bagg's, where we found the Riedain family.

Friday, 4 inst Made our visits. To M. Tillier Mr. Peter Smith gave back twenty dollars which Baptiste had given him for the flour. Saw Colonel Walker at Mr. Peter Smith's.

Saturday, 5 November 1796 Baptiste, Frayre and Desmarets arrived toward 5 in the evening with the waggon loaded with our belongings and conducted by three pair of oxen. The 4th is staying in Castorland to haul the hay from the meadow, to transport the wood, and to keep the road open. I went with M. Tillier to New Hartford to see Mr. Merell, in order to obtain for us the barrels of flour and pork necessary for the settlement for next year. M. Tillier came to an agreement with him for seven dollars per hundred. Paid Fraire his fifteen days of work.

Sunday, 6 November M. Tillier sent Baptiste to White'stown to withdraw the Company's title from the registration. It was not yet registered, the official claiming that for greater clarity, it was necessary to register the title anew. M. Tillier will go tomorrow in person, accordingly. Saw Mr. Smith and various persons in order to find a way to sell the horses, to buy pork, flour.

Monday, 7 November As M. Tillier no longer needs us to complete business agreements, I left with my brother on the stage. We left Baptiste with him, to aid him in what remained for him to do.[63]

Tuesday, 8 November Arrived in Schenectady. Saw Mr. Miller, in order that he send us some waggons for loading the chimney-stoves and other belongings of the Company, which he will send by water to Fort Schuyler.

Wednesday, 9 November 1796 Arrived in Albany at 11. Found our family in good health. Made our visits.

Thursday, 10 November Arrival of M. Tillier. He made the business agreement with M. Merell for the flour. The three pair of oxen are placed at Mr. Peter Smith's. The waggon harnesses and the horses are at Mr. Merell's.

Friday, 11 November 1796 M. Tillier gave my brother the maps and plans which he charged himself with, since the map will be made here this winter. He kept the plan for Castorville.

M. Tillier made a business agreement with Mr. Merell to sell and conduct to Castorland this winter fifty barrels of flour at 196 lbs. and twenty barrels of salted pork. The flour, at the rate of 8 piastres the barrel; the pork, at 16 piastres; besides the 10 sh. per barrel for the cart. Conferred in the evening with M. Tillier, who has continued examining accounts and correspondence. Remitted a copy of the accounts of 1793 and 1794, that the Company is again asking for.

Saturday, 12 November Conferred with M. Tillier this morning. I delivered to M. Tillier the two last notes from Mr. Seton, one for one thousand piastres, payable the 11th of April 1797, and the other for 1216 piastres, payable the 11th of April 1798. M. Tillier settled with Baptiste a statement of 5 £ 18 sh. 10 p. for the Company's expenditures.

Sent by waggon to Mr. Miller in Schenectady the two chimney-stoves, which comes to 22 cast-iron pieces.

Sunday, 13 November 1796 to 15 April 1797 The secretary of the Company has been employed in making duplicates of all the accounts, in keeping the letter-book up to date, in copying and writing up the journals and fieldbooks since June 1796, up to November 1797. I have no longer kept the Journal, as I no longer had an administrative function. Here below, notes only on matters which may be of interest to the Company.

Tuesday, 15 November 1796 Sent to Mr. Miller in Schenectady two large kettles for potash and 50 feet of pipe for the two chimney-stoves.

Wednesday, 16 November Sent to Mr. Miller a potash kettle and a sugar kettle. Wrote to the house of Porteous and Miller to send the whole, according to the orders of M. Tillier, to Mr. Peter Smith in Fort Schuyler; Mr. Peter Smith being supposed to have delivered to Castorland the things which are sent to him.

Monday, 21 November 1796 Sent to New York by M. de Volney duplicates of the letter from my brother to M. Chassanis dated 5 October, with a postscript dated 20 November.[64]

Tuesday, 22 November 1796 Departure of my brother for Lake George, in the intention of visiting the N. part of the state and the settlements of our friend Thurman in Totten and Crossfield.

Thursday, 24 November Received a letter from the house of Porteous which informs us of the departure of the belongings for Fort Schuyler at the rate of £13 9 sh. per ton.

Friday, 25 inst Received a letter, undated, from M. Tillier, on the purchase which he made for the Company's behalf of sixty bushels of salt. He notifies me that his drafts on Mr. Constable are finally accepted.

Monday, 5 Xber. 1796 Received from the same a letter, also undated, enclosing the list of purchases which he has made and placed on board the sloop *Delia*, Captain Skinner.

Answered M. Tillier that I would receive the items and have them stored.

Thursday, 8 December 1796 Return of my brother. He answered a letter from M. Tillier, who found himself in a predicament because M. Olive's choice overlapped with that of M. Le Ray. The letter was delivered to M. Le Coulteux.[65]

Monday, 12 December Saw Gilsemain, who worked for us this autumn as a gardener. He is proposing to us to buy a lot with his brothers. I addressed them to M. Tillier. Saw several drivers to set a price and bring the Company's belongings, which remained 30 miles from here, the sloop having been caught in the ice at Lunenbourg.

Friday, 16 December Had Baptiste leave with the sledges, after giving him the bill of lading and the money to pay the captain for the freight.

Saturday, 17 December Baptiste returns with the 6 sledges loaded with a pipe of rum, 16 barrels of salt, a barrel of vinegar and a chest of tools. Paid 30 piastres for the six vehicles.

Sunday, 18 December Received a letter from Mr. Brodhead, who informs me of his arrival at Fort Stanwix. Mr. Brodhead came from the long falls back to the high falls on the ice. Received two letters from M. Colinet, for us and M. Tillier.

Monday, 19 December 1796 Wrote back to Mr. Brodhead, sending him some letters from Messrs. Tillier and Olive, and the five sheets of large map paper which he is asking me for. Wrote to M. Tillier, sending him the two letters from M. Colinet. I am informing him of what has happened to the belongings, which are now in storage. Received notice from Mr. Porteous and Co. of Schenectady that the sudden freeze has halted the batteaux at Mr. Yates, across from Anthony's Nose on the Mohawk.

Tuesday, 20 December Wrote to Mr. Murdock of Schenectady to request him to have our belongings, held up by the ice at Mr. Yates, sent by the sledges to Mr. Peter Smith. Wrote to Mr. Kip at Fort Schuyler, to have him send us sledges[66] for the return trip in order to load here the Company's belongings. Otherwise, it would be necessary to pay the round-trip cost, which would double the expense, M. Tillier not having made any business agreement to transport them, something which we had recommended he do.

Thursday, 22 December Received a letter from Mr. Brodhead dated the 7th, which informs us of the return of Mr. Smith, who has completed the surveying of lower Castorland.

Received by Mr. Brodhead a letter from M. Colinet, who is complaining of threats from the Indians and of the isolation in which he would find himself, in case they should want to carry them out, our men being more disposed to flee than to defend themselves. Wrote back the same day to Messrs. Brodhead & Colinet.

Thursday, 29 Xber. 1796 Departure of my brother for New York, to complete the accounting with M. Olive and Tillier and to push for a conclusion with Mr. Constable to the matter of the boundaries, a matter which M. Tillier has not yet managed to finish.

1797

Friday, 6 January 1797 Received a letter from M. Tillier, with a draft enclosed of 200 piastres on M. Quesnel of Albany, for the purpose of furnishing the Company's expenses.

Saturday, 7 January 1797 Sent to Messrs. Brodhead and Colinet M. Tillier's letters, which I received yesterday. Capt. Skinner came to ask for a storage duty for the Company's belongings taken on board his ship, as if he had stored them.

Sunday, 8 January 1797 Having spoken to M. Quesnel of the draft which I had on him, he told me that he had no funds to pay it.

Monday, 9 January 1797 Received a letter from M. Colinet for M. Tillier. Wrote to M. Tillier, forwarding this letter to him.

Wednesday, 11 January Received a letter from my brother, who informs me that he has completed the merchandise account with M. Olive.

Monday, 16 January 1797 Mr. Merell came to see me, and promised me vehicles for the Company's belongings towards the end of next week. I requested him to give to each sledge conductor a note in his hand, so that I would know to whom I should entrust our belongings. He has not yet sent any flour to Castorland; in short, he is claiming that the mills are frozen. Received a letter from my brother and one from Mr. Brodhead. The map

paper and the letters which have been addressed to him by a friend of Mr. Murdock's have not reached him. Wrote therefore to Mr. Murdock.

Sunday, 22 January 1797 Mr. Brodhead arrived from Fort Stanwix: he reported to me on his operations.

Monday, 23 January 1797 Received a letter from M. Tillier with two others for Messrs. Brodhead and Colinet. Answered M. Tillier, sending back to him the order for two hundred piastres on Mr. Quesnel and the copy of the business agreement made between the commissioners of the Company and Mr. Brodhead for the surveying.

I let M. Tillier know of the request which Mr. Brodhead has made me for the fieldbooks, a request to which I did not want to accede, having no order to deliver them and being responsible for them; and knowing moreover that it had been decided among all of us that the map would be made here. Accordingly, Mr. Brodhead has taken an assistant in order to have all of the fieldbooks transcribed in the Company's office, into a single one.

Mr. Brodhead came back in the evening, and I gave him a letter for M. Tillier.

Tuesday, 24 January Received a letter from Mr. Murdock, who has written to Mr. Yates to have our belongings forwarded to Fort Schuyler. Conferred with Mr. Brodhead.

Wednesday, 25 inst Mr. Brodhead gave me this morning this year's fieldbooks. Desmarets arrived from Castorland, bringing me a letter from Mr. Colinet, dated 17 January, by which he informs me of the departure of Desmarets and François, who say they are sick but are in reality frightened of the Indians. He now has only Piquet and Marguerite with him. Desmarets told me that he saw between Topping's and Castorland a barrel of flour and a kettle on the snow, most likely a part of our belongings, the road not having been kept open. M. Colinet, worried at not having any provisions, was proposing to go to Fort Schuyler. In the evening, François came to ask me for some money against his wages, getting ready, from what he told me, to return the next day. I answered him that not having any account from M. Colinet, nor order from M. Tillier, I could not pay him.

Wrote to Messrs. Boutin and Merell to urge them to send us provisions to Castorland, and sledges to Albany.

Friday, 27 January 1797 Received a note from Mr. Merell who is addressing Elias Merell to me, for a load. I gave him 4 barrels of salt.

Friday, 3 February 1797 David Hess, this kind German who received us so well at German Flats, came to see us. As a result of my brother's proposals, he wanted to settle on our lands; but learning that my brother will most likely not return there, he did not conclude. Moreover, I could not, on my own, make an arrangement with him.

Monday, 6 February 1797 Received from the house Porteous and Murdock of Schenectady a letter of the 2nd, in which they inform me that they have in their hands the receipt of Mr. Post of Fort Schuyler for the belongings which we have sent. A sugar kettle had got broken. They are asking for its price, to deduct it from the freight.

Received a response from M. Boutin. He went with M. Colinet to Mr. Peter Smith's and Merell; this latter promised to send without delay two sledges loaded with flour.

Tuesday, 7 February 1797 Answered Mr. Murdock and Co. Received a letter from M. Tillier, dated 2 February, as well as another for M. Colinet, which I sent to Fort Schuyler.

Wednesday, 8 February 1797 Saw M. Boutin who was arriving from Fort Schuyler and going to New York. He informed me that M. and Madame Riedain had returned to the Black River with M. Colinet and a man whom he had hired to replace the two departed Canadians. M. Colinet represented vainly to M. Riedain that without an order from M. Tillier he could not receive them nor furnish them provisions. They claim that the Company must aid them. Wrote to M. Tillier by M. Boutin.

Friday, 10 February 1797 Sent with an individual who is going to White'stown, a letter for the widow Ferlent. Received letters for Piquet, our carpenter.

Saturday, 11 February 1797 Received by M. Le Couteux, a letter from M. Tillier, dated 27 January last; answered the 13 February.

Friday, 17 February Return of my brother from his voyage to New York. My brother, as it had been agreed upon between him and Piquet, has opened his packet of letters, to find out the answer on the subject of the Canadian workers that we have asked for. His brother notes to him that he is willing to go to the settlement with the men that are designated, but that it is necessary to send him funds for travel expenses and to leave, during their absence, some aid with their families.

Saturday, 18 February 1797 Wrote to Mr. Porteous of Schenectady. I note to him that the price of the broken boiler is three dollars; that he can therefore settle the freight account.

Sunday, 19 February Wrote to M. Tillier to inform him of the answer on the subject of the Canadian workers. Send duplicates of my brother's letters for the Company.

My brother is translating Pharoux's fieldbook into English for Mr. Brodhead, who does not know French.

Tuesday, 21 February 1797 Mr. Brodhead arrived in the afternoon, and brought me an order from M. Tillier to give him the plans, maps and

fieldbooks concerning the surveying. We discussed this with my brother, and we decided to give them to him, on the responsibility of M. Tillier. My brother promised Mr. Brodhead the translation of Pharoux's fieldbook for the course of the river as soon as possible.

Desmarets came to ask for money, saying that he was leaving for Canada. Having no reply on his behalf from M. Tillier, I did not give him any.

Wednesday, 22 February 1797 M. Boutin arrived. . . . [67] from New York. He is proposing to establish his store in Castorland: he will go. . . . [68] without delay. We have given him our letters. Dispatched a quintuplicate of the accounts of 1793 and 1794, to send to the Company. Began a formal copy of the accounts for 1793, 1794, 1795 and 1796, requested by M. Tillier, to whom I had already sent such copies, which he had promised me to have copied in New York.

Friday, 24 inst This evening gave all the maps and English fieldbooks, and the translation of Pharoux's fieldbook, to Mr. Brodhead. We have lent him the tin case to put the maps in.

Sunday, 26 inst Meharis and Gilsemain, who worked for us last year, came to see us. Meharis is leaving for Castorland, where he found himself well treated and was useful to us. Answered M. Tillier's letter dated the 15th.

Sunday, 5 March Gave my brother two copies of the accounts for the Administration from 1 July 1793 to 20 September 1796.

Wednesday, 8 March Received from Mr. Porteous and Co. a letter with a statement and order for £ 39 19 sh. 4 p.—which we have paid—for freight of the Company's belongings to Fort Schuyler.

Friday, 10 March M. Boutin's associate in Fort Schuyler, and who is returning to New York, has informed us that they had brought our livestock back to Castorland, to keep them pensioned there until the spring, given the lack[69] of fodder, and because the sledges have not been able to carry our provisions all the way to Castorland. Topping's creek being impassable, everything has been left at Miller's.

Tuesday, 14 March 1797 Made for the Company a triplicate of my brother's letters and sent by an opportunity to Mr. Seton.

Friday, 24 March Mr. Brodhead returned. He informs us that the map is not yet finished, but he hopes that it will be within a fortnight.

Sunday, 26 March Wrote to the Company about its situation in case of a rupture.[70] Received a letter from Castorland for M. Tillier.

Monday, 27 March 1797 Received a letter from M. Tillier; answered the same day, sending him the letter from Castorland.

Saturday, 8 April Arrival of M. Tassart, chosen by M. Tillier to replace him in Castorland. He gave me a letter from M. Tillier informing me that he will go without delay to the Black River and as soon as he receives the map from Mr. Brodhead.

M. Tillier has received news from the Company. He is leaving me the choice of going with M. Tassart or of waiting for him here. I thought that, in the interest of the Company, I ought to overlook many things, and, not finding it suitable to leave the settlement to the sole disposal of M. Tillier, I judged it preferable to go with him.

Monday, 10 April 1797 My brother gave me the note for M. Olive's choice for his 4050 acres, the choice of our three thousand acres, and the map of the divisions planned in 1794 by Pharoux.[71]

Packed up all the secretary's papers, which M. Tillier wants transported to Castorland.

appendix a Prospectus of the New York Company

Topographical Description of ~~six~~ two hundred thousand acres (1) of lands in North America put on sale ~~by Shares, according to the Plan for Association herein attached~~.[1]

PROSPECTUS
The Office of the Company is in Paris,
rue de la Jussienne, no. 20.
1792

Topographical description of ~~six~~ two hundred thousand acres (1) in North America, put on sale ~~by Shares, according to the Plan of Association herein attached~~.[2]

The Association, the Plan for which we will present, will no doubt draw the attention of Fathers with families; everything substantial and advantageous which they can wish for is found united in this enterprise; its success cannot be doubted, since it has lands as a foundation, the cultivation of which will soon offer, to their Owners, possessions significant in their size and their fertility.

It seems to us superfluous to make long speeches; it will suffice to describe the location of the Lands, & their relationship with the country which surrounds them; to give several details on the useful and various productions of a soil, the quality of which is recognized to be excellent; to make known the population, its growth, which everything seems to favor, & the climate, so favorable to the vegetation, so healthy to the Inhabitants; the view which we will give of the government will be rapid, because its form is generally known, & we shall finish with several observations on the advantages which this Region offers Commerce.

This Tableau, precise and true, will explain the means & resources which this Association offers Human Industry, to acquire & even increase enduring wealth, &, as it contains no exaggeration, it ought to give the Public the entire confidence which this purchase deserves.

Location

On the *East* are located, thirty-five leagues from the Concession, the City and the Port of Albany (2), where European vessels can land; the journey from Albany to Fort Schuiler [*sic*] is made over well-inhabited country. It is the most fertile of those lands which are already cultivated in America & is located along the Mohawk River: one goes up this river by batteaux, & all transportation

arriving from Europe is accomplished in the interior of the lands in this way, with the exception of ten to eleven hundred leagues; but work on building canals and locks is now taking place, in order that communication can be made entirely by water.

On the *West* is Lake *Ontario*, which is fifty leagues in length, & twenty-five in width; this beautiful Lake offers Commerce & Fishing the greatest resources with its expanse of ten leagues on our Domain, & by its communications with either the Saint Lawrence River or with several navigable rivers (3).

On the *North* is located Canada; there, the new city of Kingston is built on the shore of the Lake; & this city, in which the seat of the Governement of upper Canada is to be established, is distant from the Concession by only five to six leagues.

On the *South*, one finds a well populated country, very fertile; it is even so productive that it furnished most of the grains which are exported to Europe from the Ports of Albany & of New Yorck [*sic*]. In this way, from the very first year, the new settlements which will be made on our lands will, with the greatest facility & and at a very modest cost, be able to obtain for themselves there every kind of provisions.

It is not indifferent perhaps to observe that in this happy location nothing is to be feared from the Indians; they are separated from our possessions by Lake Ontario, which is a kind of small sea; & they are even more so, by the English settlements, located on the northern shores of this same Lake: the theater of the current war is more than two hundred leagues distant.

Independently of the distance & the obstacles which shelter us from an incursion from the Indians, all the lands of Montgomery County have been bought by the State of New Yorck [*sic*], from the Indigenous peoples to whom they belonged: this acquisition has been made by a public treaty, concluded on both sides in good faith; & the Indians never take back their word on such treaties.

Such is the favorable position of the lands in Montgomery County, to which are further added the advantages of a soil that is fertile & susceptible of all kinds of productions.

Productions

Over an expanse of around fifteen leagues in length by eight to ten in width, the soil always varies; but one determines its quality from the different species of trees which are found on it, & from the vigor of their growth: this is such that the surface of the land is nearly entirely covered with very straight trees, and so high that they are from eighty to one and two hundred feet in height.

These trees are of different species & very variegated in their kind, such as the Oak (4), the Beech, the Elm, the Ash, the Chestnut, the Black and Silvered Birch.

The *Wild Cherry*, very important for carpentry and cabinetwork, is there very common & of the finest growth, its wood can take the place of the wood of the Mahogany, the principal properties of which it has.

The *Hycori* [*sic*] is also found there; it is the best wood for burning, & its ashes are very suitable for making potash (5): the nuts which it produces are excellent for eating.

There is a species of walnut which bears a nut called *butter nut*, because of its good quality: this tree is only met with in the valleys, and designates a very rich soil.

On the elevations, *Pines* of different species are seen, & especially the *White Pine*, whose majesty strikes those who look upon it, and whose usefulness cannot be compared to that of any other tree of the globe; its wood, sought after for carpentry, also furnishes masts for the strongest war ships.

In the less-elevated meadows, and in the plains, one notices the *Western Plane-Tree*,[3] which is similar, by its quality, to the woods of the beech and oak; especially, one notices there the *Sugar Maple* (6), so important for the Farmer, & which providence seems to have lavished in these woods: it deserves on our part a particular consideration.

"There are few trees," says Valmont de Bomare (7), "which unite so much variety, charm & usefulness; which grow with more quickness and uniformity; which better accommodate themselves to the poorest exposures; which demand less care & cultivation; which better resist all the intemperances of the season, & which one may multiply with more facility."

It has only been two years since Farmers have learned to extract from this tree, so precious, all the use that they could draw from it; to be sure, they did know how to extract from it a sweet liquor which was reduced to sugar; but their process was so imperfect that only a very slight advantage was its result.

In the beginning of 1790, the method for purifying sugar was discovered; this method is so simple that in Montgomery County, the Worker who works actively for six weeks, in February & in March, can make a thousand-weight of it; it has been so perfected, that this sugar is equal in all respects to that which is extracted from our Islands: it is sold at the same price (8).

The Maple does not require any cultivation; extraction of the sap is done at very little expense & in a season, when the suspension of the labors of the earth, gives leisure to Farmers. One must further note that this tree does not suffer at all from the incision which is made in it; it is certain that those from which the liquor which flows from it has been extracted for fifty years are of as fine a growth as those which have not been cut.

If, from the trees, we proceed to plants, we find in this part of America the same variety, the same multiplicity; without mentioning the plants of various sorts, which serve as food for horses & oxen, which are sent into the forests for pasturing, one distinguishes, among the number of the plants and shrubs, the *Raspberry-plants* & the *Strawberry-plants*, which grow in great abundance there.

The *May Apples* are there the size of a large lemon, of a very good taste, & seem particular to America.

Hops grows naturally there, & its quality is equal to the hops cultivated in Europe.

The *White-Clover*, as Powel says, is so natural to the soil of America that it grows there without being cultivated, & is found everywhere; it is, according to Arthur Young, the most certain proof of a soil that is excellent & fertile (9).

Among the Roots, one especially notes two which are infinitely useful for commerce: the *Sarsaparilla* & the *Gins-eng* or *Gens-eng*, which is transported to China to so much advantage.

We believe that we ought to add here what the learned Ellis says of the soil of North America, in his *Philosophical Transactions of Philadelphia*: "*One knows of,* he says, *few indigenous plants in distant countries, & principally in the north of China, which may not perfectly succeed in the north of America*."

The details into which we have just entered prove without a doubt the fecundity of the soil which we have acquired (10); but to this proof, which is universally recognized as certain, we believe we must add another one, no less conclusive: the productions of the lands cultivated along the streams of the Mohawk & of Wood-Creek, which border on the Concession. These lands, previously covered with the same species of trees of which we have spoken, & which have been destroyed, are of a fertility which no terrain in Europe can equal. They produce abundantly seeds of all kinds, such as *Maize*, or *Indian Corn*, *Wheat*, *Buck wheat*, *Barley*, *Oats* & *Vetch*.

Peas & *Beans* are cultivated there with so much success that a very considerable export of them is made, to the English and French Islands.

The *Melons*, *Cucumbers*, *Pumpkins* grow there in the open land without the aid of manure.

Flax and *Hemp* are harvested there in very large quantity, & it is an uncontestable fact that more flax seeds are exported from the State of New York than from all the other United States combined. The export has been as high as three hundred thousand bushels (11).

"Other than the indigenous productions, says the *American Spectator*, which are abundantly sufficient for all of life's needs, all the productions from Europe, of which essays have been made in New York, grow perfectly there; & there are several which, with little difficulty, attain there a degree of goodness infinitely above that which they obtain in Europe after a very painstaking and dispendious cultivation (12)."

Clearing Land

Everyone knows that in America, one does not pull out trees to clear land & farm a new terrain; the custom is to fell them; all that is not reserved for construction wood and lumber, or for other articles for exportation, such as *masts*, *planks*, *stakes*, etc., is burnt: the ash, from which one makes potash (13) oneself, or which is sold to one's neighbors, by itself pays for the cost of clearing the land; it is a sure product, lucrative & easy, because of the Markets located on the shores of Lake Ontario or of a navigable river which communicates with it.

These forests which have never been felled are entirely unlike those in Europe. The wood of these ancient forests, once cut down, does not grow back;

the livestock destroy the few shoots that do grow; in a few years, their stumps rot; & as they are situated at quite some distance from each other, due to the size of the trees, they allow the plow & the harrow to cultivate the land, begining with the first year; the harrow suffices even. The harvest is not any the less abudant for that, & the same man who has cleared his land will not need to add to it fertilizers during his lifetime, or to let it rest, as is the custom in Europe.

Climate

New York, says the *American Spectator*, *is, in every respect, one of the most delightful places to live in North America. The salubrity of the climate and the fertility of the soil there are admirable.* (14)

One does not experience these excessive heat spells which, in other parts of America, follow upon the spring rains & cause illnesses; there is no country where fevers are less known than in Montgomery County.

The spring is not there of long duration; but the moderate heat spells of summer make of this last season a prolonged spring; nevertheless, its temperature, a little hotter than that of the spring in Europe, & mixed with several storms, suffices to bring to a perfect maturation all the productions of the land.

The autumn which follows upon it is the most constantly beautiful season, the harvest is not at all, as in Europe, interrupted by long periods of rain; it is only in the middle of November that the weather undergoes several noticeable variations.

The snow then comes to announce the rigors of winter, & this beneficent snow, which constantly covers the soil during this season, protects the seeds, fertilizes the earth, & assures abundant harvests for the Farmers.

In the month of April, the spring reappears, & its first heat spells, preceded sometimes by a gentle rain, gradually come to melt the snow; the land then unveils herself, & the most beautiful green embellishes the countryside.

The animals which are particular to this climate, & known in New York, are the *Elk*, the *Deer*, the *Bear*, the *Wolf*, the red & grey *Foxes*, *Beavers*, *Otters*, *Martens*, *Badgers*, *Racoons*, *Hares*, *Rabbits*, *Porcupines*, & the *Squirrels*, of five to six kinds; all of these animals, which offer as many sources of diversion for hunting as of resources for the table, again furnish for European commerce precious furs; none of them makes war on man: as soon as the population extends in any direction with any kind of rapidity, the wolves & the bears immediately withdraw into the distant forests; & America will furnish them similar retreats for a long time.

Among the birds, one must include especially the *Pheasants*, *Partridges*, *Woodcocks*, & *Woodpigeons* (15).

The *Geese*, *wild Ducks*, & other aquatic birds, there multiply themselves to such a degree that the rivers & the lakes are, so to speak, covered with them.

Lake Ontario is renowned for the good quality, the quantity & the variety of the fish which are caught there: the rivers furnish the different species of those which we know, such as the *Shad*, *Sturgeon*, *Salmon*, *Bass* (16), *ordinary*

Trout, *salmoned Trout*, *Perch*, *Pike*, *Eel*, etc. This rivers are so full of fish that a man, with a simple line, catches in an afternoon as many, and often more, than he can carry.

Population

It is not surprising that a Country so rich in the gifts of Nature & so suitable for the satisfaction of all the needs of man, attracts industry & population: thus, each year is marked with their rapid development. The noticeable growth of the State of New York, & particularly that of Montgomery County, can give an idea of this population which is to vivify our lands one day & give them a value proportionate to that of the neighboring settlements.

It is believed that the population of the United States doubles every twenty years; but according to the enumeration made by the Government, it was found that that of the State of New York had been among the most rapid; indeed, the census of 1756 rose to ninety six thousand seven hundred seventy five Inhabitants; & in spite of eight years of war, the census that was done in 1786 rose to two hundred thirty eight thousand eight hundred ninety seven, and that of 26 July 1791 gave the number of three hundred forty thousand one hundred twenty Inhabitants; it is especially in the environs of the Mohawk River & of Lake Ontario, that, following the details given by order of Congress, population has increased the most.

Government and Religion

It is not indifferent to man to know under what government he is to live or possess lands; that of New York resembles much the general government of the United States.

New York is divided into Counties; the Counties into precincts; & the Precincts into Districts. Each County has a Court of justice; each District, a Justice of the Peace.

A new settlement is a part of the nearest District until the number of the Inhabitants becoming too large, one sets this same settlement up as a new District, & successively into a new County, whenever that becomes necessary from the number & the increase of the new Districts.

It suffices to have resided six months in the country, or to possess an estate of about five hundred *livres tournois*,[4] to have the right of participating in the elections & of enjoying the other privileges of the Citizens.

Justice there is everywhere administered equally.

The Laws have as their foundation liberty, tolerance; & the respect which the Americans have for all Religions, is the first guarantor of morals; from this, is born that spirit of gentleness & beneficence which characterizes them. All religions are there equally accepted, & the Constitution of the State of New York *orders, decides & declares, in the name of the authority of the good People of this State: that the free exercise & free enjoyment of religious professions & of religious practices, without any exception, difference, or preference, will be*

henceforward & for always granted in this State to everyone; but the liberty of conscience granted by the present constitution cannot be interpreted in such a way as to excuse acts of licence or to justify practices incompatible with the peace or security of this State (17). Such is the text of the Law: hence, one sees in New York twenty different Congregations, each one of which having one or several Churches. There are in America Catholic bishops & Protestant bishops.

The State of New York has an advantage which is particular to it: it is so rich from its revenues that it has no need to place any tax on its Inhabitants, not only for the ordinary expenses of the Government; but also for the extraordinary costs of improvements, such as the new roads & canals; the taxes of the general government are raised uniquely on what is imported into the United States: these taxes are very moderate & are placed only on luxury objects; they do not rise, all in all, to five percent of the value of the merchandises, with the exception of tea, coffee, sugar & spiritous liquors: an increase in taxes is all the less to be feared in that Congress has immense territorial resources.

Commerce

In casting one's eyes on the geographical position of New York, one easily conceives what the superiority of its commerce over that of the other United States should be.

All of New York State, says Morse (18), *is to such a degree cut up & divided by the branches of the Hudson River, the Delaware, the Susquehannak, & other rivers, that there are very few places in its entire expanse which are more than five to six leagues from a navigable river.*

It is no doubt surprising that so many natural advantages have been neglected in New York for such a long time; but the activity of its neighbors enlightening it as to its own resources, has excited its emulation & awakened its industry. This State is beginning to sense that nothing is easier than to attract a more flourishing commerce into its Ports, and to share with the English, all that the St. Lawrence River offers as means to this end.

Located at that extremity of Lake Ontario which is nearest the inhabited regions & divided by several navigable rivers, the Concession made to the New York Company contains everything suitable for nourishing the industry & activity of its Inhabitants.

First of all, they will have the economy of all costs that others are obliged to make for transporting their provisions: no doubt, the various grains to be cultivated in the future will at first be consumed; but begining with the first year, the cooper's oak and the carpenter's wood will be turned into profit.

Potash (19) will be, consequently, one of the most essential articles, & the *Sarsaparilla*, the *Gins-eng* (20), a main object of exportation.

This is enough, no doubt, to give an advantageous idea of the terrain which is conceded to us; but we ought to point out also that all the lands which are within the boundaries of the State are sold by the Government; that their value is increasing rapidly, & that those of the Company of New York can only acquire, even without being cleared, a proportionate value.

It has already very frequently happened that Speculators have bought large terrains, & that they have then resold them at a profit of several capitals for one, without having made therein any clearing of land; but our views are not limited to this simple speculation, however lucrative it might be; the goal which we have proposed to ourselves, is withdraw from our lands all the value which cultivation and population can raise them to; those which are cultivated on the road from Fort Schuiler [*sic*] or Stanswick [*sic*] to Albany are being sold at five to six *louis* per acre, & ours, which are only six leagues from Fort Schuiler will have, after our Settlement, at least an equal value.

In this happy era, the Shareholders of the Company of New York will therefore sell from five to ten *louis* what costs them today eight *livres*: this profit is not illusory, & its reality can be easily grasped.[5]

Another advantage for each Shareholder: the costs of clearing land & cultivation are not at his charge for half of his Shares (21), & that he enjoys for the whole, the inestimable advantage of having possessions which are joined to those of a numerous Company, itself so suited for vivifying neighboring areas.

The first settlements will be the most difficult to make; one needs a road to get there; one needs the proximity of a mill for grinding, & that of a mill for sawing, because one has, first of all, a house to build: if all these necessary objects do not exist, a private individual finds himself embarrassed; he dares not & and often cannot undertake to establish them: here, the Company charges itself with opening the road, building mills, establishing one or several manufactures of Potash, & at the same time that it creates the well-being of its new Inhabitants, it will create for itself a very advantageous operation; it is thus that, as soon as the first step is made, one will surmount all the difficulties which present themselves to new Colonists: the plan of the cities is already set: these cities will hasten the progress of agriculture & commerce, by facilitating early their being joined together.

Quite recently, in the neighborhood of Albany & our Lands, several cites have been raised, *Hudson* & *Luseng-bourg* [*sic*] on the Hudson River; *Ballstown* in the interior of the country, to the north of the Mohawk River; & *Coopers-town* on the source of the Susquehannak [*sic*]: the location of this city & its surrounding area, within a circumference of ten miles, was, in 1786, entirely covered with woods.

If Coopers-town, built at this time, & which owes its origin to only one man (Cooper), is already famous by its commerce & by its manufactures, what ought one not expect from cities which a Company will found, whose means & interest are more powerful indeed by far than those of a mere individual?

The association

(1) The Acre is a land measure, containing an arpent and a half, or thereabouts.

(2) This small, attractive city, built by the Dutch on the confluence of one the most beautiful rivers in the world, surrounded by a rich and widely extended

country, draws to its heart, by all of the advantages which it offers, a large number of speculators; it serves as an entrepot for the commerce which one makes with Canada, & as many different languages are spoken there as in the other cities of the United States: its port, its proximity to the sea, its communication with the lakes, will likely make it one of the most flourishing and peopled Cities of the Continent.

(3) By this river, the course of which is three hundred leagues, one can go down to Montreal, which is only seventy leagues from the Concession. Montreal is in an island formed by the Saint Lawrence River.

(4) There is the black Oak, the white and red, the Water Oak, & the Chestnut Oak.

(5) Potash is a fixed alkaline salt, drawn from the ashes produced by the combustion of various plants, it is used in glassmaking, for dyeing, & for bleaching canvas.

(6) This species of Maple specially belongs to the climate & soil of North America: one has seen, in 1762, several of its plants in the gardens of M. de Buffon, in Montbard, which, although ten years old, had not yet produced either flowers or seeds.

(7) *Dict. d'Hist. Nat.* under the word *Erable*.

(8) Judge Cooper is now forming near Lake Otsego a settlement to refine Maple sugar, several Merchants of Philadelphia have become interested in this. *Gazette nationale américaine*, of the 21st February, 1792.

(9) This plant, adds the same author, demonstrates that the lands of America are particularly suitable for the meadows which must in the end draw the attention of the true Farmer. *Annales sur l'Agric.* vol. 17, pag. 207.

(10) It is of the same soil that Morse speaks when he says: "The best lands of the State of New York are located in the neighborhood of the Mohawk River, to the west of the Allegany mountains; they are still in the state of nature; but Settlements are beginning to be formed there." *Géographie américaine*, p. 247.

(11) The bushel is a measure which, when filled with wheat, weighs around 54 pounds, poids de marc.

(12) *Le Spectat. améric.* pag. 256.

(13) Five to six hundred English bushels are needed in order to make a barrel of Potash; the barrel weighs 2200 pounds, & is currently being sold in Albany for thirty-five to forty *louis*.

(14) *Le Spectat. améric.* pag. 256.

(15) These pigeons are in such great numbers that at Fort Schuyler, five leagues from the Concession, they are sold for six *sous* the dozen: they are caught in nets, in the spring & autumn.

(16) The Bass, called Oswego Bass, & which seems to be particular to Lake Ontario, weighs from three to four pounds.

(17) *Constitution of the Thirteen United States of America*, page 162.

(18) *Géographie américaine*, pag. 246.

(19) The State of New York alone has exported, in 1791, nearly three thousand tons of it.

(20) The city of Hudson, which is twelve leagues below Albany, exported, in 1784, an entire cargo of it to the Cape of Good Hope.

(21) Not only will all expenses be paid for by the remission of the tenth granted on the price, but further, the Company shall be able, without further aids, to create settlements which will produce an annual revenue.

APPENDIX B
Constitution of the New York Company

The year one thousand seven hundred ninety-three, the second of the French Republic, the twenty-eighth day of June, at five in the afternoon, appeared in the residence of Citizen Pierre Chassanis, located in Paris, rue de la Jussienne, section du Mail, the undersigned, current bearers of temporary receipts convertible into shares of the Company which is going to be established by the present act, each one for the quantity of shares hereafter explained, following the verification, which has been made of them by the said Pierre Chassanis and the Citizen Lambot, Notary, who has delivered the said receipts, both of them previously nominated to this end and according to the representation made by the said undersigned of the said temporary receipts, of which they are the bearers, as it results from a formal declaration made on this subject, undersigned by the undersigners and deposited in the archives of the Company, namely:

1. The said Pierre Chassanis for two hundred four shares. 204
2. Jacques-Donatien Le Ray de Chaumont, the son, proprietor in North America. one hundred shares. 100.
3. Michel St. John de Crèvecoeur, former consul de France in New York in the said North America, for 10 shares. 10
4. Louis Moreau, stipulating for Citizen Conginasse Desjardins, *négociant*[1]-commissioner of the Executive Council of France in the said City of New York, for 60 shares. 60
5. Renoit Van Prandelles, *négociant* in Baltimore in North America, for thirteen shares. 13
6. René Lambot, notary in Paris, for fifteen shares. 15
7. Michel Pierre Guyot, *négociant*, for seventy eight shares. 78.
8. Etienne Guinot, French Citizen, for one hundred thirty two shares. 132.
9. Auguste-Victor Thion de la Chaume, notary in Paris, for five shares. 5
10. Charles-Pierre-Joseph Latran, stipulating for Citizen Maillot, Paris *négociant*, for 7 shares. 7
11. Etienne-Pierre Pharoux, architect, for twenty-five shares. 25
12. Alexandre-Jacques Desormeaux, Citizen, for twenty shares. 20
13. Julien Pierre Guyet, *négociant*, for twenty shares. 20
14. Citizen Guyet, daughter of age, for fifty-five shares. 55
15. Jean Nicholas de Livry, Citizen, for three hundred shares. 300
16. Jean Baptiste Mesnard, Citizen, for three hundred seventy shares. 370.
17. Citizen Lourdes, wife of Simon Lefebvre, *négociant*, for sixty-four shares. 64.
18. Nicolas Olive, *négociant*, for ten shares. 10

19. Benigne-Joseph Varin, architect, for two shares. 2
20. Jean-Nicolas Antoine Army, Citizen, for four shares. 4
21. Ignace Munier, Citizen, for twelve shares. 12
22. Antoine-Pierre Viel Lunas, cultivator, for sixteen shares. 16
23. Charles Davilliers, for sixty shares. 60
24. Jean-Louis Grivés, liquidator at the National Treasury, for ten shares. 10.
25. Joseph-Victor Allons, Citizen, for five shares.
26. Claude-Amable De la Tremblaye, for five shares. 5
27. Elisabeth Beneetz, daughter of age, for two shares. 2
28. Angerdresne Isabelle Beneetz Reider, wife of Citizen Bailly, for three shares. 3
29. Charles-François Ame, Citizen, for eight shares. 8
30. Jacques Rouland, former banker, for fifteen shares. 15
31. Augustin Chendret, Citizen, for 3 shares. 3
32. Antoine François Charpentier, notary in Paris, for one hundred shares. 100
33. Jacques François Crin, Citizen, for one share. 1
34. Pierre Valere-Petit de la Peyriere, Citizen, for two shares. 2
35. Joseph Victor Balenat, Citizen, for two shares. 2
36. Angelique-François-Paul-Mathieu Cousin, for two shares. 2
37. Henri-Agathe Decrene, Citizen, for ten shares. 10
38. Jean Baptiste Edmon, engineer, for three shares. 3
39. Pierre Thomas Jubault, Citizen, for thirty shares. 30
40. Citizen Deshayes, stipulating for Citizen Sarrazin, exchange agent, for twenty shares. 20
41. Et. Louis Prudent Moreau, Citizen, for five shares. 5

The total making eighteen hundred eight shares.....1808.

And furthermore, all the undersigned stipulating collectively, as composing the two-thirds majority and more required by the prospectus, which shall be discussed below, for the totality of bearers of the temporary receipts convertible into two thousand shares making the number of those of which is to be composed the said Company, which is also the proprietor collectively of the assessment of the said shares which It is going to choose to reserve for its disposal by the present act.....100.

Which makes, from the number of shares for which the undersigned concur with the present act, for themselves, or for those whom they represent, or for the Company collectively, nineteen hundred eight shares.....1908.

And gives, according to the terms of the said prospectus, the right to the undersigned to finalize the present act for themselves or those whom they represent and for those who are not here present; the two-thirds majority required for this (amounting only to thirteen hundred thirty four shares); and those shares which represent the undersigned exceeding this amount by five hundred seventy four shares, the receipts, convertible into shares of which are bearers those who are now not present, comprising only ninety-two shares .....92.

The whole, making two thousand shares, of which the Company is to be composed by the present act.....2000.

Which assembly regularly convened by circular letters and announced in the public papers, the said undersigned, bearers of temporary receipts, have declared that having, by the payment of the said shares, become the owners of two hundred twenty thousand five hundred acres of lands in the State of New York, North America, they were going to lay the foundations of their Association, establish its administration, and deliberate on all the points related to the divisions, operation, development and disposal of their property in America.

But before proceeding to these operations, the Citizen Chassanis, who has been the representative of the Shareholders for the acquisition of the said lands, has thought it his duty to recall the origin of this property and the manner in which it has been transmitted to the Shareholders.

In consequence, he has stated to the assembly what follows:

The land sold to the New York Company, is part of the lands bought by the State of New York from the ancient Indians who inhabited them.

It is located on the Black River and near Lake Ontario. It begins on the north shore of the Black River, beginning from the western boundaries of the Concession of William Inman, and extends along the said shore towards the west, to Lake Ontario, from there, it goes up to the North, along the said Lake, up to a certain point from which a line drawn south, eighty seven degrees East, will strike the North West corner of a concession of lands known by the name of Totten and Crossfield; from this last point, it extends on its eastern side along the line above mentioned, up to the North West corner of the concession of William Inman, nine miles from the point where the said terrain begins, and it then comes back to end at the said Beginning.

Of these same lands acquired by the State of New York, nineteen hundred twenty thousand acres were conceded by the said State to Alexander Macomb by letters patent on the tenth of June [*sic*], one thousand seven hundred ninety two.[2]

A. Macomb transmitted the ownership of these to William Constable by an act of 6 June in the said Year one thousand seven hundred ninety two, renewed by him and his wife by another act of October third, of the same year.

These acts are endowed with all the forms prescribed by the laws of America, according to which it is certified by a certificate of Messrs John Coxe and Jared Ingersol dated nineteen November, one thousand seven hundred ninety two, deposited in the Chancellery of the Consulate of France in Philadelphia.

Mr. Constable, not wishing to keep the totality of his acquisition, authorized Citizen Chassanis to sell for him in France a designated amount of six hundred thirty thousand acres. For this sale, he adopted the use of shares. The number of shares was determined at six thousand, and he set the price of each share at eight hundred *livres* for one hundred acres. A prospectus was published in October,[3] one thousand seven hundred ninety two, to announce the sale of these shares. However, in December, a time when Mr. Constable was counting on a portion of the funds which this sale was to procure for him, no purchaser had presented himself. It was then that, fearing the unsuccess of his operation, he charged Colonel Ward with withdrawing from the sale, the lands, the acquisition of which he had proposed to the French capitalists: Nevertheless, on the representation of Citizen Chassanis, Colonel Ward, charged with the

powers of Mr. Constable, consented to let two thousand shares be sold in France; and it was agreed that two hundred thousand acres chosen on the Black River, extending to Lake Ontario, would be dedicated to these two thousand shares.

It is on this last foundation that the temporary receipts have been delivered to the shareholders. And to fulfill this new engagement, the said Constable, in a contract of thirteen April last, passed in London, and endowed with all the legal forms of this country, has transferred to Citizen Chassanis not only two hundred thousand acres and the five per cent in land, granted in addition for the roads and public objects, but also ten thousand acres to serve to facilitate the exploitation of the two hundred thousand; the whole, to be taken from the purchase made by him from Mr. Macomb, in conformity with the boundaries mentioned above. In this act, the said Constable had also engaged himself to transmit to the Association[4] the compensations which would be granted him by the State of New York relating to all the lands which should be covered by water. The same act contains in addition the recognition of the total payment which the said Citizen Chassanis has made of the said lands.

The facts which have just been set forth by Citizen Chassanis, being in agreement with the titles and documents, of which he has given communication to the shareholders and the provisional commissioners which they had named to make an examination of them; the Assembly, after having heard the report of its provisional commissioners and having discussed, article by article, the project of Association which they have presented to it, has unanimously accepted, deliberated on, and finalized what follows:

First Heading

Declaration of the Rights of the Company

1st Article.
Citizen Chassanis declares that all the lands and rights acquired by him definitively from the Sieur Constable by the final contract of the thirteenth, April last, were so acquired for the benefit of the purchasers of the two thousand shares, each of them eight hundred *livres*, making together the total cost of the said purchase, which price has been paid to the Sieur Constable, as it results from the receipt inserted in the said contract of sale and reiterated by him on the fold of the said contract.

Citizen Chassanis recognizes that this payment has been made from the funds arising from the sale of the near totality of the said shares, of which it is proper to observe that a tenth of the price has been remitted by the Sr. Constable to the shareholders; in consequence, Citizen Chassanis cedes and transfers, per his responsibility, all the rights of property and others resulting from the said contract, for the whole which belongs to them collectively, consenting that they enjoy, use and dispose of it in full ownership from this time forward.

2nd Article.
All those who are bearers of receipts convertible into shares in the said property, who are here present, stipulating for themselves and for the others who

are absent, accept, per their responsibility and collectively, the property which has just been again to them declared and ceded by the said Citizen Chassanis, with the original charges carried over to the concession made by the State of New York, according to the above mentioned letters-patent; it being understood that the said shareholders will be bound for these charges only in proportion to the territory which they have acquired under the name of the Citizen Chassanis, according to the final contract of the said day thirteen April last.

3rd Article.
Citizen Chassanis has exhibited and placed on the desk the documents which establish the original ownership of the lands and rights in question: namely,

1st. A copy in legal form of the letters patent dated 10 January 1792.

2nd. A copy, also in legal form, of the contract of sale made by Alexander Macomb to William Constable dated 6 June 1792.

3rd. A copy in legal form of the act of renewal of the said Contract of sale by the said Alexander Macomb, and Jeanne, his wife, dated 3 October 1792.

4th. Dispatch delivered by the chancellor of the Consulate General of France of the act of deposit made in the said Chancellery of a collated copy of the three acts above.

5th. The originals of two declarations of the master of the chancellery of New York, declaring that the lands in question are not burdened by any debt of Sr. Alexander Macomb.

6th. The original in parchment of the contract of sale from William Constable to Pierre Chassanis dated 13 April 1793, with the original of the title of ownership.

7th. The original of an obligation of the said William Constable to the benefit of Pierre Chassanis of fifty thousand pounds Sterling dated 12 April 1793, in case of lack of ratification by his wife.

Plus a printed copy of the prospectus published by Citizen Chassanis, and on the faith of which the shareholders decided on the acquisition of their shares.

Finally, a printed copy of the temporary receipts delivered to the purchasers of the shares, at the bottom of which is found explained the reduction to a third of the sale proposed by the Prospectus.

Article 4.
The Assembly leaves all of these documents in the hands of Citizen Chassanis, and charges him to deposit them in the archives of the New York Company.

Heading 2nd.

Merger of the shareholders into an Association and Denomination of their property in America

Article 1st.
In adopting as regards the disposition applied to the prospectus heretofore explained, the Assembly declares that all of the said Shareholders, whether present or absent, being, by the fact of their purchase, joint co-proprietors of the terrains and rights declared under the first heading, are constituted by these

present articles into an Association of silent partners under the name of the New York Company, for the operation of the said lands and rights, except for, nonetheless, the allowances and modifications which shall be specified below.

Article 2nd.
The totality of the lands of the New York Company shall be designated henceforward under the name *Castor-Land*.

Heading 3rd.

Designation of the goods which shall enter into association and of those which shall be excluded.

Article 1st.
The purpose of the Association established in the preceding heading being 1st. to bring with more rapidity life and improvement over the entire expanse of the lands acquired by the Company, 2nd. to allow the majority of the Shareholders, who might not choose to do so, to avoid the necessity of traveling beyond the seas, as well as the predicaments and expenses for the first exploitation of a large portion of these lands, 3rd. to facilitate for them the exploitation of the surplus, 4th. finally, to accelerate into this region the population, which is, one day, to create its riches: It has seemed indispensable, in order to implement more promptly these felicitous ends, to establish over a large part of the acquisition, which will remain undivided and held in common, a common administration, capable, by the uniting of common means, of procuring the development of this portion, and to have the advantages of this fall upon that portion that it may also suit many shareholders to exploit by themselves, or by the individual managers for their own account.

In consequence, the Assembly decides that in the objects sold by Mr. William Constable to the shareholders, by the intermediary of their representative Citizen Chassanis, there shall be a part which shall remain in indivision.

Article 2.
The part of the said acquisition which shall remain held in common and be possessed jointly among the associated Shareholders, to be developed by a common Administration, will be composed
1st. of one hundred thousand acres of lands, to be taken among the two hundred thousand which form the main object of the sale.
2nd of the twenty thousand five hundred acres conceded in addition by Mr. William Constable to the Shareholders, namely: ten thousand for the roads, canals & public establishments, at the rate of five acres per hundred and ten thousand, for the purposes of relief and indemnization.

It is observed that, in the two hundred twenty thousand five hundred acres of which it has just been spoken, are not to be counted the lands covered by bodies of water, according to the terms of the concession and of the contract of sale of Mr. Constable.

3rd. of the sum of one hundred sixty thousand *livres* sum from the tenth remitted as encouragement by Mr. Constable to the shareholders on the price of the totality of the two thousand shares mentioned in the 1st article of the first heading.

This sum is, at this time, in the hands of M. Lambot, notary, at the disposal of the shareholders. It is represented by eighty thousand *livres* in *assignats* and by an equal sum of one hundred shares of eight hundred *francs* each which only remain to be sold out of the two thousand shares stated above and left by Mr. Constable to the shareholders to complete the tenth which he has remitted to them, which values the Assembly declares that it accepts for the said remission.

Article 3.
The part of the said acquisition which shall be possessed on an individual basis among the shareholders, as soon as the division which shall be made of it, can be done and in the way which shall be established below under Heading 9, shall be composed *1st* of one hundred thousand acres of lands *2nd* and of the terrain which the two thousand individual lots will occupy on the site of the first city which will be planned by the associates of the Company.

Heading 4th.

Form and duration of the Association

Article 1st.
The Association, which has just been established for the possession and enjoyment in common of the objects designated in the first article of the preceding heading, shall be divided into two thousand proprietary shares.

Article 2.
The said shares will be numbered from one to two thousand. These shares, instead of being in the form set forth by the prospectus, will be divided into two certificates. One shall be called an *individual certificate*,[5] and will give the right to 50 acres in the individual property of one hundred thousand acres, and to an individual lot in the site of the first city, which shall be planned; the other shall be stamped *common certificate*,[6] and will give an interest of one two-thousandth in the objects remaining joint and in association in association between the shareholders. The coupons shall bear the same number as the shares.

The shares shall be modeled according to the following form:

Compagnie de New York

Acquisition under the name of M. Chassanis of two hundred thousand acres of land and dependencies designated under the name of Castorland, and located in the State of New York, County of Montgomery, on the shores of Lake Ontario and of the Black River, by act of the thirteenth of April, one thousand seven hundred ninety-three.

No. *Coupon divis*

The bearer by means of the payment made of the price of the entire share, of which the present coupon is part, is the owner, by virtue of the said coupon, of the individual lot which shall fall as their portion to *No* ..... above, both in the location of the first city which shall be planned on the terrain of the Company, and in the two thousand lots of 50 acres each, which are to form the share of the individual property of one hundred thousand acres which are part of the acquisition set forth above, according to the procedure determined by the act of establishment of the said Company, dated 28 June 1793, of which a quadruplicate has remained in the archive of the Company and another will be registered and deposited in the city of New York.

Nota: This coupon will be exchanged for a declaration of ownership at the time of the deliverance of the lot.

Compagnie de New York

Acquisition under the name of M. Chassanis of two hundred thousand acres of land and dependencies designated under the name of Castorland, and located in the State of New York, County of Montgomery, on the shores of Lake Ontario and of the Black River, by act of the thirteenth of April, one thousand seven hundred ninety-three.

No. *Coupon indivis*

The bearer, by means of the payment made of the price of the entire share, of which the present coupon is part, is interested by virtue of the said coupon in one two-thousandth in the one hundred thousand acres and other objects depending from the acquisition set forth above and remaining in association among the shareholders, according to the act of establishment of the said Company, dated 28 June 1793, of which a quadruplicate has remained in the archive of the Company and another will be registered and deposited in the city of New York.

Article 3rd.

In accordance with the prospectus, the coupons which make up each share shall be signed by Citizen Chassanis, by two commissioners of the Company, and stamped by Citizen Lambot, notary in Paris.

Article 4.

The temporary receipts delivered by Citizen Lambot, notary, who has been charged with receiving the price of the said shares, shall be necessarily exchanged for shares of the above model, which shall bear the same Nos. as those indicated in the receipts which shall have been brought back.

Article 5.

This exchange shall be made in the office of the Company, and when it shall take place, the Receipts exchanged shall be crossed out and left with the director of the Company to be handed over to the said Citizen Lambot, as having become useless by the said exchange, and by means of the release of the said

Citizen Lambot regarding Mr. Constable, operated by the receipt quittance inserted in the contract of sale set forth above.

Article 6.
The corporation in question begins from this day, and shall last twenty one full years, beginning on the first of July next, with the faculty of dissolving it before the due-date of this term, as it will be explained under the Heading twelve below.

Article 7.
Shall be considered to be true associates only the bearers of common certificates for the two thousand shares set forth above.

Article 8.
The common certificate of each one of the said shares shall never be able to give a right in the said Association, but only an action against it, to have delivered to the one who is its bearer, the individual lots set forth in the said coupon, according to the procedure and the manner which shall be explained in Heading 9 below.

Heading 5.

Administration of the Association
A Director and four Commissioners residing in Paris
Their Functions and Powers

Article First.
The interests of the Company shall be regulated by a Director and four Commissioners having their seat in Paris, where the Administration of the Corporation remains established.

Article 2.
The Director and the Commissioners will always have to be named in a general Assembly of the Shareholders, and by the absolute majority of the votes, by voice vote.

Article 3.
They will only be able to be chosen among the associated shareholders. In order to be a Director, or commissioner, one will have to be owner or bearer of at least ten whole shares, or of twenty common certificates, of which the deposit shall be made into the hands of Citizen Lambot, notary, in the eight days which shall follow the nomination to the said stations. And so the mission of a Director or of a Commissioner shall cease as soon as they no longer have the ownership of the number of shares or coupons established above.

Article 4.
The Director, once named, shall exercise his functions during the duration of the Association, without being able to be changed except in a general Assembly

of associate shareholders, by a two-thirds majority of the votes, summoned to this end.

Article 5.
The Paris Commissioners will be able to be renewed seven times during the course of the Association, namely, the first time in three years beginning from the 1st of July next and so successively every three years, until the complete revolution of the 21 years that the said Corporation can exist.

Article 6.
The Director shall be charged with the correspondence, the safekeeping of the titles, registers, papers and generally, with everything which shall enter into the archives of the Company. He shall summon the general assemblies of the shareholders, and those of the commissioners. He shall take care to have a locale suitable for the holding of the said assemblies, he shall write down the general and particular deliberations. He shall deliver the shares to the bearers of receipts from Citizen Lambot.

He will have a consultative voice in the assemblies of the Commissioners, and deliberative only in order to decide between the opinions of the Commissioners, when there is a tie in the voting.

He shall keep the treasury of the Association, from which he shall make the receipts and payments, but he will not be able to make any payment except on an order signed by two Commissioners.

He shall keep also, or have kept, for the Company, the Registers that It is to have, namely:

1st. a register of duplicates for the verifying of shares and their certificates.

2nd. a register of correspondence

3rd. a register of deliberations

4th. a register of the treasury.

5th. a register in which shall be recorded the numbers of the common certificates of the shares, and the names of the owners who shall wish to make themselves known.

Finally, he shall review conjointly with the Paris Commissioners all declarations of ownership in the name of the shareholders, when the case arises. To the effect of all above, the Company shall confer upon him all necessary powers.

Article 7.
The Company grants to the Director an annual salary of four thousand *livres*, to indemnify him both for his trouble and efforts, as for the increase in the rent of the offices, wood and light.

He is authorized to draw this salary by his hands on the funds which the Company shall have in treasury.

Article 8.
The Paris Commissioners shall be charged with deliberating and legislating among themselves on all the affairs and interests of the Company, with follow-

ing and settling all the operations which can concern it, with following the execution of the deliberations which will be taken in the general assemblies of the Company, with giving in the name of the Company, to the Director and to the American Commissioners, the instructions and the orders which will be necessary, with directing the use of the funds of the Corporation, with watching over the collecting of all the sums which shall belong to it, with ordering the payments, with making all the purchases necessary to send to America and to review conjointly with the Director all declarations of ownership, in the name of the owner of shares or of coupons when the case arises, with signing the coupon of shares to be delivered to the shareholders, with watching over the operations of the Director and the commissioners of America; with deciding yearly the account of the Director and finally, with proposing to the general assemblies all the projects that they shall consider useful; to the effect of everything above, the Company confers to the said Commissioners every necessary authorization.

Article 9.
The Paris Commissioners will have no salary, but in recognition of the efforts that they shall give to the common goal, there shall be attributed to them an attendance fee at each particular and general assembly at which they shall meet for the affairs of the Company. This fee is set at two silver tokens, of 4 to 5 *gros*[7] in weight.

These tokens shall be made at the Company's expense, and by the care of the Commissioners, who shall decide upon their shape and manner of engraving.

Article 10.
The Paris Commissioners will assemble at least once a month. They will hold their assemblies at the Director's. The deliberations will be made with a plurality of individual votes.

Article 11.
All the deliberations so made and signed by three commissioners, or by two Commissioners and the Director, in the case when he shall have a deliberative voice, will have their full and entire execution, as if they had emanated directly from the majority of the Shareholders: in consequence, the engagements and decisions which shall result from these deliberations shall oblige the Association.

Article 12.
However, the said commissioners shall not be able to make nor authorize any borrowing in the name of the Company, without having received the special mandate for it in a general assembly of the Shareholders.

Article 13.
The Assembly confirms again the nomination that the shareholders have made by their deliberations on the 19th and 20th of this month of June of Messrs. Guyot, Maillot, Guinot and La Chaume, as Commissioners of the Company in Paris.

Heading 6.

American Commissioners
Their Functions and Powers

Article 1st.
Two Commissioners shall direct the goods and affairs of the Company in America. This number shall be increased, if necessary.

Article 2.
The said Commissioners shall necessarily be chosen among the Shareholders. The nomination of them shall be made in a general assembly of the Company at the absolute majority of the votes, and by voice vote.

Article 3.
The American Commissioners shall be required, in the eight days which shall follow their nomination, if they accept, to furnish a deposit of forty thousand *livres*, in which shall enter at least ten whole shares of the Company of New York, and, at most, twenty, at the rate of their original value. These shares shall be deposited in the hands of Citizen Lambot, notary, who shall give for them his private receipt. The Company relies on the Paris Commissioners to judge the validity of the items which shall be presented to complete the said deposit.

Article 4.
The mission of the American Commissioners shall be to verify and establish the outer boundaries of the totality of the lands sold to the shareholders by the Sr. Constable;

to have the surveying, division and subdivision of the said lands carried out.

to attend to the formation of the individual lots, of which it shall be made mention in Heading nine, below, in such a way that they all be of approximately equal value.

to place in possession of the individual lots the owners of these latter, in conformity with the below procedure.

to develop the portion of the said lands which is to remain in association.

And to this end:

1st. to have all mills, workshops, stores and cabins built, that shall be needed.

2nd. to do all felling and burning of trees, as well as all clearings and cultivating.

3rd. to buy all instruments, tools, comestibles and livestock necessary and of indispensable utility.

4th. to sell at modest profit to the new settlers, who shall become established on the lands of the Association, or on those lands sold by It, part of the tools or comestibles which will belong to the Association.

5th. to make all treaties, arrangements, estimates and business arrangements with the surveyors, artisans, workers and day-laborers that they will have to hire for the development of the lands and woods.

6th. to make all rents and sales in the manner most advantageous to the Association, but only on the terrains exceeding the one hundred thousand acres which have remained undivided.

7th. to make, on the most useful prices and conditions, all titles for leasing on the totality of the undivided lands. These leases nevertheless shall not be able to exceed the length of the duration of the Association. They shall be made according to the custom of the country and with consideration given to the progressive growth of the territorial revenue.

8th. to solicit from the government of New York the opening and the making, at the expense of the said government, of the main roads and canals for communication.

9th. to plan and have executed the particular roads in order to go from one district or canton to another.

Their mission shall also consist in receiving the price of the sales, incomes,[8] leasings,[9] and to give receipt of them; to make to the Company's account all importation to France of the goods from the increase of the lands of the said Association.

And finally to manage and administer with zeal, economy and intelligence all the interests of the Association in America.

Article 5.
These Commissioners shall be under the supervision of those in Paris, and they shall be required to conform to the mandates and instructions which shall be given to the Commissioners in Paris for the exercise of the mission conferred upon them by the preceding article.

Article 6.
The Company authorizes the Paris Commissioners to confer upon those in America the said powers and others in general, whichever they shall believe necessary to manage usefully the goods and affairs of the Company in America.

Article 7.
The said Commissioners shall without delay betake themselves to New York, and from there, to the lands of the Company, to reside there and make the operations which the Company or the Commissioners in Paris shall indicate to them.

The expenses of their passage from France to America, and their transportation to the said terrain will be born by the Company, up to a limit of one thousand *livres tournois*.

Article 8.
The Company, in addition to the benefit of which it shall be spoken below in Heading 9, allocates to the American Commissioners an annual salary of six hundred dollars, to indemnify them for their work, travel expenses to the site, living and office expenses.

Article 9.
Independently of this salary, the Company reserves to itself the granting to the Commissioners, if it is satisfied with their work, a commission on the profits which they shall procure for it.

Article 10.
The American Commissioners shall keep a journal of all their operations. They shall have sent each year a copy of this journal to the Director of the Company.

They shall send at least every three months to the Director the description of the work that they will have done, during the elapsed trimester, and they shall maintain with him a frequent correspondence.

Article 11.
The said Commissioners shall hire on site a clerk to keep their writings and to help them in their operations: he shall have one half of the annual salary of a Commissioner.

Article 12.
The functions of the American Commissioners shall last until their recall and the revocation of their powers by the Paris Commissioners who are authorized to this effect, in a general assembly, by the majority of the Associates present at the Assembly.

Article 13.
In the event that the American Commissioners should find themselves of a divided opinion regarding some object related to their administration, they shall take on site an arbiter to decide between them. They shall choose him preferably among the shareholders who may be in the country.

Article 14.
The Assembly confirms again the nomination which has been made by deliberation of the shareholders on the 19th of the present month of June, of Messrs. Desjardins and Pharoux as American Commissioners, the first as honorary only, and the second with the salary set above.

Heading 7.

On general and particular assemblies

Article 1st.
Each year, on the eleventh day of the months of January, May and September, and in case of a holiday, on the day after, there shall be a general assembly of the associated Shareholders, in which the Paris Commissioners will report on all that they have done since the preceding assembly, and on the news that they have received on the affairs of the Company in America.

The general Assemblies shall also be called into session each time that the Paris Commissioners shall deem it necessary.

Article 2.
The general Assemblies shall be held in Paris at the home of the Director of the Company, on the days and at the times which shall be indicated. They shall be presided over by one of the Commissioners.

Article 3.
No deliberation shall be able to be made in a general Assembly, if the shareholders present are not collectively bearers of at least one thousand common certificates of whole shares, or of five hundred only, if they are ten persons in number, not counting the Commissioners. The shares shall be deposited before the Assembly, in the hands of the Director, who shall keep a record of the deposit.

Article 4.
In order to have entry and deliberative voice in the general assemblies, one will have to be owner of or bearer of five common certificates in whole share[s].

Article 5.
The votes shall be counted in the deliberations, in relation to the number of shares and in the below proportion.

Five shares shall give one vote, and after this number, up to that of forty-five only, each group of ten shares shall give an extra vote. But all the shares which shall be found to be in the hands of a same person, beyond forty-five, shall not count; so that no one Shareholder shall ever be able to have more than five votes.

Heading 8.

On surveying and dividing the lands.

Article 1st.
The external survey of the terrain belonging to the Shareholders is to be done at the expense and by the care of Mr. Constable, who has engaged himself to this.

This survey will be verified, if need be, by the Commissioners of the Company, or by their employees.

Article 2.
They shall have made an internal survey of the said terrains, following the procedure and the instructions which shall be given them by the Paris Commissioners.

Article 3.
A copy of the survey's formal statements shall be sent to Paris, to the Director of the Company.

Article 4.
The survey of the said terrain being finished, there shall be made the useful and necessary divisions.

the first to be made shall be the demarcation of public roads.

the second, that of the one hundred thousand acres, which are to be possessed individually by the bearers of individual certificates of full shares, and their subdivision into two thousand lots.

the third, that of a city in the most suitable part of the terrain which has remained in association and the location of the individual lots in this city.

the fourth finally shall be the demarcation of the terrains which are to be conceded to American families for a modest price.

the subdivisions shall be made in the above order, unless there is a strong interest for the Company to alter this order.

The other subdivisions shall be made subsequently following the orders which shall be communicated for them by the Company or its Commissioners in Paris.

Heading 9.

Subdivision into two thousand lots of the one hundred thousand acres belonging to the bearers of individual certificates, and of the location which shall be destined for them in the first city planned by the Association. Procedure for choosing lots.

Article 1st.
The one hundred thousand acres, destined to be possessed by the bearers of individual certificates of whole shares, shall only be composed of lands of good and average quality, without there being able to be included any land of no value; that is, which would not be susceptible of any cultivation.

Article 2.
The said one hundred thousand acres shall be divided into several strips mixed as much as it will be possible with the lands which are to remain in common.

Article 3.
As soon as the various portions of lands, which are to contribute to making up the said one hundred thousand acres, divided, shall be determined and their borders set, there shall be made of them two thousand lots of 50 acres each, and of approximately equal value. Each lot shall be numbered from one to two thousand.

Article 4.
The lots which shall be found to be on the Black River, Lake Ontario, or on any navigable waters will not be able to have there more than the tenth and less than the twentieth of water frontage, and it shall be reserved, for the common portion, half of the lands on the Black River and Lake Ontario.

Article 5.
The bearers of common certificates shall have the right to half of the terrain, which shall be given over by the Association to the site of a city: allowance made on the said terrain for the portion which the streets and public buildings will occupy.

Article 6.
This right shall be able to be exercised only on the site of the first city, which will be planned by the Association, at whatever time this city should be determined.

Article 7.
The shareholders of individual shares shall not have the choice of the portion of terrain which is to be reserved for them in the site of the said City; but they will be required to accept that which shall be assigned to them by the Association.

Article 8.
This portion of land shall be divided into two thousand individual lots, which shall be, as much as it shall be possible to do, disseminated over the expanse of the site of the City, and bordered by the properties which shall remain the Association's.

Article 9.
In order to facilitate the division among those with a right to them, of the lots mentioned in articles three and eight, above, these lots shall be designated in a formal declaration according to dependent and contiguous lands, as well as according to the kind of land, and there shall be made of these a figured map: the whole to be copied, and at the expense of the Company.

One of the original duplicates of these two documents duly figured and legalized, shall be sent in the month of their making to the Director of the Company in Paris, to be deposited in its archives.

The other two doubles of these documents shall remain in the hands of the Commissioners of the Association in America.

Article 10.
The division of the lots set forth in Articles 3 and 8 shall be made as follows, in conformity with the prospectus. The choice of the lots shall be made in order of the Numbers of the individual certificates of the shares, that is, that the preference of the choice shall belong to the priority of the numbers.

Article 11.
The choosing of the lots shall necessarily have to be made in the three months which shall follow the deposit, in the Archives of the Association, of the formal declaration and of the map of the division of the said lots; and to this effect, the shareholders shall be notified, both by public papers as well as by letters.

Each shareholder of individual shares shall be required in the same length of time of 3 months to make known to the Director of the Association the choice that he shall have made, and to sign, on the formal declaration of the division of the lots, both with his signature, and with the Numbers of his individual certificates, the articles that he shall have chosen among those listed on the said formal declaration, under penalty of nullification of his choice.

Article 12.
In order to facilitate the execution of this operation, the second month having elapsed, there shall by made by the Commissioners a table of the numbers of the individual certificates, of which the bearers shall not yet have chosen the lots which are to be there adopted; and they shall indicate, during the course of the 3rd and last month of the time-limit fixed above, the week in which a determined series of shareholders of individual shares will necessarily have to make its choice, under penalty of being deprived of the faculty of choosing and undergoing the occurrence of drawing by chance, which is to be explained.

Article 13.
Those who, after the expiration of the said three months, shall not have made their choice, or shall not have made known the manner indicated above, shall no longer be allowed to do it; and the lots which shall then remain, without having been chosen, shall be applied by the use of chance to the Nos. of the certificates, which shall not have been provided with lots.

Article 14.
The drawing of the said remaining lots shall be made in a general assembly of the bearers of individual and common certificates, summoned ad hoc and in the manner which shall at that time be indicated by the Paris Commissioners.

Article 15.
The bearers of individual certificates, who shall participate in this drawing, shall be required to accept the lots which shall fall to them, by the occurrence of the drawing, without being able to refuse them; and they shall sign with their signature as well as with the number of their individual certificates, the articles of the formal declaration where shall be listed the lots which shall have fallen to them.

Article 16.
By departing from Article 6 above and from the following ones, as it is in the interest of the Association to accelerate the population of the Concession, and that, to this end, it is necessary to offer advantages to the Shareholders, who shall betake themselves to the lands of the said concession to inhabit there, or to begin immediately its development, it is agreed that every bearer or owner of individual certificates, by betaking himself to the lands in question, shall be able to choose, as the division of lots by the surveyor is being made, and without waiting for the confection of this division and the turn of these numbers, as many lots as he shall have individual certificates, provided however that he not have more than ten of them; the faculty of choosing before one's turn being limited to the choice of the said lots only, in the totality of which lots he shall not be able to have more than two thousand feet of land along the Black River, Lake Ontario or other navigable waters.

Article 17.
The choices, exercised by virtue of the faculty explained in Article 12 above, shall be made in the presence of the American Commissioners or of their ap-

pointees ad hoc, and on the condition that the shareholder, before making his choice, shall engage himself in writing to inhabit or have inhabited a household on the totality of the lots that he shall choose, and to do this, in the course of the year which shall follow his choosing; under penalty of an indemnity for the Association; which indemnity shall be equal to the value of the tenth of the lot chosen.

Article 18.
The Commissioners sent to America shall be able to use the faculty of choosing, as expressed in Article 12 above, up to the same limit of ten lots; but under the charge of having at least two households inhabit on the lands which they shall have chosen, under penalty of the indemnity listed in the above article.

Article 19.
The choices which are the object of Articles 12, 13 and 14 above, shall not be able to be made until the map of the division of the two thousand individual lots has been made, and the objects chosen on the said map have been distinguished.

Article 20.
The American Commissioners shall keep formal declarations of the choice made by virtue of Articles 12 and 14 above, and they shall have doubles of these communicated to France, to the Director of the Company.

Article 21.
Each shareholder of individual shares who shall have made his choice, either in France, or in America, and completed the formalities above prescribed, shall remit or have remitted, either to the American Commissioners, or to those in Paris, the representative coupons of the lots that he shall have chosen; and the said Commissioners shall transmit a declaration of property of the said lots, by virtue of which declaration, he shall be able to enjoy, use and dispose in full ownership of the said lots.

Article 22.
The same thing shall be observed by those who shall have undergone the occurrence of drawing by chance; and it shall be transmitted likewise by the said Commissioners a declaration of property of the lots which shall have fallen to them by chance.

Article 23.
The certificates remitted shall be crossed out and deposited in the archives of the Association. Mention shall be made of them in the declaration of ownership mentioned above.

Article 24.
The declarations of ownership shall be transmitted following the forms observed in the State of New York.

Heading 10.

On the use of the one hundred sixty thousand livres arising from the remittance made by Sr. Constable to the Shareholders.

Article 1st.
The Company entrusts the Paris Commissioners with the care and the disposal of the funds composing the one hundred sixty thousand *livres* in shares and *assignats*, arising from the remittance granted by Mr. Constable to the Association; in consequence, they are authorized, when the needs of the Association shall make it necessary, to have the one hundred shares that are part of these funds sold, and to do this at the most advantageous price that can be made, but which nonetheless shall not be able to be below twelve hundred *livres* the share.

Article 2.
The product of the said shares, together with the surplus of the said funds existing in *assignats*, shall be used by the Commissioners as soon as can be done, both for purchasing utensils, comestibles and other necessary supplies for the success of the first tasks to be done on the terrains of the Association, as well as for purchasing values convertible into goods and credits in the funds of the Bank of New York; and it will be used in accordance with the needs of the American Commissioners for the expenses which the development and operation of the lands of the Company shall necessitate.

Article 3.
The uses and destinations indicated above shall be made in accordance with the circumstances by the care and following the orders of the Paris Commissioners.

Heading 11.

On the end of the Association and of the division or disposal of the goods and rights, which shall compose it.

Article 1st.
The duration of the Association has been fixed, as it is heretofore stated, at twenty-one years, beginning with the first of July next: however, it shall be able to be dissolved before, following the procedure which is going to be defined.

Article 2.
Nine months before the expiration of the first seven or fourteen years of time fixed for the duration of the Association, the American Commissioners shall have transmitted to the Direction in Paris a report on the goods and rights remaining then to the Association, on their nature, on the improvements of which they could yet be susceptible, finally, on the estimates that they shall believe able to give about them, and for which they shall call upon, if they judge it necessary, experts chosen on the site.

Article 3.
In the month that shall follow the reception of the report mentioned in Article two above, there shall be called a general Assembly of the associate shareholders, and it shall be deliberated on the dissolution of the Association, either on the expiration of the first seven years, or after the revolution of the fourteenth, if this dissolution is not decided by at least a majority of two thirds of the shares, the Association shall be continued *de jure* for seven more years: departing, to this end, from the procedure of voting established by Article five in the seventh Heading.

Article 4.
Six months before the time when the Association shall cease, it shall be deliberated in a general Assembly, following the procedure indicated for the deliberations in Heading seven, on the measures to be taken for the liquidation and division of the goods and rights, which shall be found to make up then the assets of the Association.

Heading 12 & the Last.

On the form of acts and of the execution of the clauses of the present Treaty.

Article 1st.
It is observed that the present act of association, likewise as the actions and all the other acts of the Association in France are not to need, for their execution, any other public formality than their legalization, when there shall be occasion for this, by the Minister or other public civil servant of the United States in France, on the terms of Article ten in the second part of the prospectus, heretofore published; and the Assembly reiterates, per its responsibility, this disposition, on the faith of the execution of which the shareholders have acquired their shares, and established their Association.

Article 2.
All the conditions listed in the present treaty are essential to the constituting of the said Association, and during the course of this, there shall be no exception made to it whatsoever, unless it is by virtue of a deliberation of the general Assembly and by the majority of two thirds of the common certificates: exception being made in this respect from the procedure of voting listed under Heading 7.

Article 3.
By means of the present act, the prospectus following which the shareholders have acquired their shares is considered henceforward only as mere information, and in this respect there shall be deposited a copy in the archives of the Company.

Article 4.
The formal declarations of the particular and general deliberations taken by the Company and its Commissioners shall be only signed by two of the Paris

Commissioners at least, and by the Director of the Company, both in his said quality, and as redactor. Invested with these three signatures, the said formal declarations shall have as much force as if they were signed by all the deliberants.

Article 5.
The collated copies or dispatches of the formal declarations and titles related to the said property of the shareholders in America shall be likewise delivered by two Paris Commissioners at least and the Director. In order to give them more authenticity, the seal of the Company shall be affixed to them.

Article 6.
There shall in consequence be engraved a particular stamp for the Company of New York, and the engraving of this stamp shall be determined by the Paris Commissioners.

Article 7.
All the titles of property of the Company, which are not yet registered in New York, will be so registered by the care of its American Commissioners, who shall request the said registerings in the name of Pierre Chassanis, if need be.

Article eighth and last.
The present treaty shall be made and signed in quadruplicate.

—One quadruplicate shall remain in the archives of the Association.
—Another shall be given in trust to Citizen Lambot, notary.
—Another shall be given to the Commissioners, who shall proceed to America to have it registered and to deposit it in New York with a public officer.
—And the last shall remain in the hands of the American Commissioners.
Done and ratified in Paris in the residence aforesaid of Pierre Chassanis, in the year one thousand seven hundred ninety-three, the said twenty eighth of June.

The signatures, etc. follow.[10]

Such were the intentions of the Association's members. Not knowing the customs of the Country in which they had made such a large purchase of land, they could do no better; and they had the wisdom to charge their American Commissioners with transmitting to them reflections which their personal acquaintance of the country would provide, in order to be able to reform in a general assembly whatever should be found contrary to the country's laws or to the Association's well-being, its founders only goal.[11]

appendix c Letter to Nicolas Olive

Extract

from a letter by Messrs. Pharoux & Desjardins, commissioners of the New York Company, 27 June 1794, to M. Olive in New York:

We have finally arrived after many difficulties. We have identified our boundary lines, and this is what leads us to write you, in order that you bring our observations to the attention of Mr. James Constable, whom these concern as much as or even more than us.

The line that M. Cockburn, surveyor, has just run to establish the boundary between M. Inman and ourselves runs exactly North. We are presuming that this line has been run according to the contract of the sale made to M. Inman by Mr. William Constable: but we know that there was sold to Mr. Inman only a square 9 miles in length and 9 miles in width, of which the Black River makes one of the sides. The seller has judged, while designating our respective boundary as having to go to the North, that the Black River runs from the east to the west. On the contrary, according to a drawing here enclosed and made according to what we have before our eyes, in regard to what has just been drawn up by Messrs. Cockburn & Broadhead, Mr. Constable will see that this river runs *North* in the portion which borders on Mr. Inman and ourselves. From this it follows that the boundary line that has been run for Mr. Inman:

1st. extends along the River, intercepts it and traverses it in several sections with the result that portions of land end up belonging to him and to us in turn, alternately.

2nd. that this boundary line traverses the portion sold to Mr. Boylston.

3rd. that the part sold to Mr. Inman, instead of being shaped like a square, is in fact shaped like a trapezoid.

4th. that instead of having only one side on the Black River, he has two.

5th. that instead of having only about 50,000 acres, he has around 75,000 acres.

It will also result from this given direction that the region designated for Mr. Angerstiern's [tract] will be larger than is necessary to form the 210,000 acres; and that in consequence, the region designated for us will not contain the 220,000 acres which belong to us, including the allowances.

We also think that (given the direction of the upper part of the Black River and that of the lower part, which we know) the line which is to run from the angle of Totten & Crossfield N87W will intercept the Black River instead of going on to strike the Lake; something which would not fulfill the engagements of Mr. Wm. Constable in regard to our Company.

To this end we ask that you immediately see Mr. James Constable. Perhaps you will see Mr. William [Constable], who must be back: this would be preferable. We therefore ask you, in bringing these observations to his attention, to inform him, *that we will subscribe to no arrangement which would not give us our 220,500 acres, including the allowances, in a single tract, and which would not give us a boundary on Lake Ontario*. The interest of our Company, its rights and ours will even force us to bring suit against Mr. Constable in order that he fulfil his engagements in regard to this Pierre Chassanis.

The entire error is due to an inexact map which served to designate the respective boundaries between all the purchasers and notably of Mr. Inman's boundary, which has been run in consequence. It would still be easy to rectify this error, but we observe that Mr. Cockburn is now busy running lines that extend according to those of Mr. Inman: these are going to be an endless source of errors that it is absolutely necessary to put a stop to.

We also ask you and we authorize you to bring suit against Mr. William Constable in order to obtain the ratification of our contract of sale by Madame his wife, a ratification which he engaged himself to furnish to M. Pierre Chassanis within the 6 months after the contract, and in default of which he obliged himself to pay 25000 guineas.

If it is necessary to give you a power *ad hoc*, we will send it to you, in due form and certified by witnesses.

We have many reproaches to make to Mr. William Constable regarding his failure to fulfil his engagements. The line which is to separate us from No. 4 of the Macomb concession is not yet run, although Mr. Constable had engaged himself to have it surveyed last year. This neglect will occasion for us delays in our operations and, as a consequence, damages.

I certify the present copy to be true and conform to the original which is in my hands.

New York, 14 August 1794.
N. Olive.

Source: 27 June 1794 letter, Pharoux and Desjardins to N. Olive. Constable-Pierrepont Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations.

APPENDIX D Synopsis of Travel

Pharoux and Desjardins generally travel by water and their routes can be easily traced. But their travel overland from the Mohawk River to their first base settlement requires an overland route over lesser known territory. The following is a general synopsis of how Pharoux and Desjardins travel between the Mohawk River and their base settlement at the Great Fall on the Black River. The names used in the Journal are followed by the modern place-names in parentheses.

Their main route proceeds via Old Fort Schuyler or Fort Stanwix, and then northward by land (see Journal, 5 November 1793). Baron de Steuben's home becomes their usual stopping and resting point. Of special importance are Gerrit Boon's settlement in today's Boonville and those of William Topping and Bela Butterfield, Pharoux's and Desjardins' neighbors some six to eight miles to the south of Castorland. Over the course of the Journal, other settlements north or south of the Baron's home provide additional stopping points.

I. South to North, from the Mohawk River to Castorland's base settlement

Mohawk River (from Schenectady and Albany)
Old Fort Schuyler (Utica)
Fort Stanwix (Rome)
Steuben's (Remsen)
Boon's (Boonville)
Butterfield's (Talcottville)
Topping's (Talcottville)
Great Fall/High Fall[1] (Lyons Falls)

II. North to South, from Castorland's base settlement to the Mohawk River

Great Fall/High Fall[1] (Lyons Falls)
Topping's (Talcottville)
Butterfield's (Talcottville)
Boon's (Boonville)
Steuben's (Remsen)
Fort Stanwix (Rome)
Old Fort Schuyler (Utica)
Mohawk River (to Schenectady and Albany)

appendix e Overview of Castorland Workers

Over the course of several years, Pharoux and Desjardins hire numerous workers. The following synopsis is meant to give a general idea of these individuals and their functions and relationship to Castorland. Through these people, we gain an idea of Castorland's progress and its relation to the region and its population.

1793. Upon arriving in America, Pharoux and Desjardins (with Brunel) travel to Albany and then by water up the Mohawk to Oswego, Lake Ontario, and the mouth of the Black River. They hire Major de Zeng as guide and three boatmen: Simon, a German; and two Yankees, of whom one is named Briton (7 October 1793).

1794. Hiring surveyors is the primary concern. In April, Desjardins hires M. Frey, who will be the chief surveyor. In May, Frey arrives in Castorland with two other surveyors, Cantine and Webster. In June, additional workers are hired; and in July, we learn of the following groups and assignments as the surveying of the Castorland tract begins:

Frey, chief surveyor + 4 men.
Cantine, surveyor + 4 men.
Webster, surveyor + 4 men.
Pharoux + 2 men.
S. Desjardins, G. Desjardins, Baptiste + 5 men.

Charles Brodhead: this surveyor is first mentioned 25 July 1794. He becomes progressively more trusted and relied on.

William and James Cockburn: father and son, respectively, surveyors working for James and William Constable.

Benjamin Wright, Calvin Guitteau, a certain Van Allen, are other surveyors mentioned.

1795–1796–1797. As the surveying of the Castorland tract continues, the work of establishing settlements begins. To this end, "waggoners," carpenters, and then blacksmiths are the primary workers hired. Workers are recruited from the surrounding area, and include Native Americans. Some of the workers are related to each other. The work includes building the first loghouse, located at the Great Fall (Lyons Falls). Another log house is begun after, at the Long Falls (Carthage). At the Long Falls, work on the construction of a mill and canal is begun. At the Great Fall, the original establishment, gardens are planted, fences raised, improvements to the loghouse are made.

Many people are hired in the early summer 1795. Louis Ferlent and his family: to stay at Castorland year-round. Dixon, Linus Peck, Trueman, and Robinson all appear to be carpenters. Cross and Roggers are hired too. Hobby is hired as a driver; his two brothers appear to have been blacksmiths, one of whom seems to be named Warren (22 August, 2 October 1795). An Indian named Hitto is hired, apparently from the Oneida Indians. He worked perhaps as a carpenter (14 June 1795) or as a surveyor.

The following year, other workers are hired. Root, a cooper, is hired 6 May 1796; Gilsemain, a gardener, is mentioned 15 October 1796. Wampy, perhaps one of the Brotherton Indians, is mentioned 19 June 1796: he was also part of the surveying party of 1794.

APPENDIX F Currency and Measures

Several types of currency are used in the Castorland Journal to reckon costs and purchases. The dollar, or piastre, is the primary medium of exchange. Mention too is frequently made of pounds (divided into shillings and pence). One pound = 20 shillings, and 1 shilling = 12 pence. In eighteenth-century America, the value of the pound varies from state to state, and differs in value from the pound sterling in England.

The Journal also mentions French currency. The French monetary system, like the English, is an inheritance from the coinage values of the Roman Empire, and is based on a similar tripartite division. The basic French unit is the *livre* (or *livre tournois*), which means, literally, *pound*. Like the English pound, the French *livre* is further divided into twenty units, the *sol* (plural, *sous*); and this latter, again like the English money, can be divided into units of twelve, the *denier*. At the time of the writing of the Journal, the French *franc* will come to replace the *livre*, and will carry the same value (see Alexander Macomb's letter to William Constable, 30 November 1793: "huit francs per acre": Constable-Pierrepont Collection: NYPL).

The Journal's authors sometimes compare various values, and we can derive from the Journal the following equivalencies:

Values according to the Journal

1) 23 September 1793: Desjardins records that 20 shillings = 2½ piastres. Since 20 shillings = £1, then 8 shillings = 1 piastre (dollar). This equivalency is for pounds and shillings of New York currency.
2) 19 September 1796: Desjardins records the drafts drawn by Rodolphe Tillier on William Constable, and we learn that one piastre (dollar) = 5 *livres*, 5 *sous*. Hence, in contemporary New York State currency, 1 *livre* is worth about $0.19, and the value of one share of the New York Company's stock, at 800 *livres* per share, is about $150.

Measuring Length
To measure distances, two French measures are often used, the league (*lieue*) and the *toise*. The latter is used to estimate distances that can be estimated at sight, much as we use the yard today. The former is used as we use miles, to measure longer distances. From entries in the Journal, we can establish the following equivalencies:
—league (*lieue*): 1 league (*lieue*) = 3 miles. (28 November 1793; cf. 6 October 1793)
—*toise* = about 6½ English feet (= six "royal feet" in France). For example, the length of the course of the falls at Little Falls measures "more than one hundred *toises*," that is, over two hundred yards (7 October 1793); the length of

the portage at the falls on the Oswego River: "The batteaux are made to slide on rollers for a distance of about 60 *toises*, to the foot of the falls," that is, over one hundred yards (16 October 1793).

Measuring Surface Area

In the Journal, the English acre is often used; but occasionally too the French *arpent*. Brissot de Warville gives for the French *arpent* the following equivalence in acres: 11 American acres = 13 *arpents*. Therefore, one *arpent* = .85 acres, and one acre = 1.18 *arpents*. See Brissot de Warville, *New Travels*, trans. Vamos and Echeverria, 26–27. For further details on these measures, see Zupko, *French Weights and Measures*.

APPENDIX G Place-Names in the Castorland Journal

As the Castorland commissioners begin their exploration of the Black River and its lands, they also begin to name specific sites. In this translation, I have respected the commissioner's original nomenclature. This nomenclature differs slightly from the familiar place-names of today, yet it allows the reader to follow more closely the Castorland settlement as a process.

The first commonly used names are the great fall (*la grande chute*) and the long falls (*les longues chutes*). Much more rarely, a third name, the lower great falls (*les grandes chutes inférieures*) is found. These three sites—the *great fall*, the *long falls*, the *lower great falls*—correspond today to the present-day cities of Lyons Falls, Carthage, and Watertown. The commissioners chose these sites for both aesthetic and practical reasons. Possessing within one's property a waterfall meant having a valuable source of energy for powering mills, and therefore a means of securing the settlement's economic well-being and hopefully its prosperity. Given the detailed and even poetic descriptions of the various falls, it seems too that the commissioners, in selecting these sites, paid attention as well to their natural beauty.

The *great fall* becomes the base camp and soon the first real home for the settlers. In its earliest years it must have resembled a small farm, with its two log houses, its sheds and stables, and its gardens. The *long falls* is at first a mere campsite—actually, two campsites, one at the head, the other at the foot of the falls—from which the all-important surveying expeditions are launched. Eventually, a mill is built at the *long falls*.

On these two sites are located the principal settlements created in the years 1793–97. Both are located in "Upper Castorland." As the surveyors explore and reconnoiter further downriver, that is, in "Lower Castorland," mention is made of "the falls" (*les chutes*) and of "the lower great falls" (*les grandes chutes inférieures*). This last site seems to have remained, at least within the scope of the Journal, a campsite for surveying the lands bordering on Lake Ontario.

This third site leads to a change in the name of the first settlement. Having two sites called the "great fall" would be confusing. On 22 September 1795, the term "high fall"—*la haute chute*—is used for the first time to refer to the original *Great Fall*. Henceforward, the name "great fall" would be used for the third site in Lower Castorland.

This reasoning is hypothetical. Some evidence for it lies in the chronology of naming. The term "lower great falls" is used on 13 August 1794, that is, at the beginning of the survey of the Castorland tract; and the term "high fall" is used in late 1795 and thereafter. A change has therefore taken place: the term "high fall" is used to designate what had been consistently called the great fall (12 October 1796 and 18 December 1796).

In early America, the name "great fall" was a common designation of any large waterfall, in English as in French. In 1744, Dr. Alexander Hamilton visits the falls at Cohoes, New York: "I went this morning with the Patroon's brother, Stephen Renslaer [*sic*], to see the Cochoos [*sic*], a great fall of water 12 miles above Albany."[1] (The Castorland commissioners, likewise, mention the falls at Cohoes, calling it a "great fall," *grande chute*, on 13 April 1794.) In his *Notes on the State of Virginia*, Thomas Jefferson uses the term "great falls" twice in his discussion of Virginia's rivers and their suitability for navigation, saying, for example: "The . . . obstacles [to navigation on the Kanawha River, which he calls the "Great Kanhaway"] begin at what are called the great falls."[2] Likewise, in a letter to Robert Morris, George Washington writes: "No man who has any knowledge of the river Potomac, harbours a doubt of the practicabilty of its navigation from the great Falls to fort Cumberland."[3] The botanist John Bartram writes: "In about an hour by the sun, after many ripplings, we found ourselves at the great fall, the whole breadth of the river, which is above 100 yards wide and is eight or ten feet perpendicular."[4] On the Sullivan expedition, a certain Thomas Grant comments on the falls he sees in a creek: "viz Butter milk Crick noted for a Great Fall."[5]

In the nineteenth century, in his exploration of Mount Katahdin (which he calls "Ktaadn"), Thoreau writes ironically: "We had heard of a Grand Fall on this stream, and thought that each fall we came to must be it, but after christening several in succession with this name, we gave up the search. There were more Grand or Petty Falls than I can remember."[6] Yet what is for Thoreau an onomastic redundancy is for the eighteenth-century settler a crucial geographical feature. Waterfalls meant power for mills, for flour or for lumber, and were therefore sources of potential wealth. At the same time, a waterfall meant that a river's potential for communication and therefore its value could be lessened. When Timothy Dwight remarks that "Maine is everywhere intersected by brooks and rivers,"[7] he is neither making a simple description nor simply an aesthetic one: he is evaluating the region's potential as a natural resource, just as he remarks on the "falls and shallows" that lower the value of the Connecticut River.[8] The evolution of the descriptive nomenclature chosen by Pharoux and Desjardins helps us see waterfalls and water routes in an eighteenth-century context.

Notes

Preface

1 Hough discusses the circumstances of his find in *HLC* 1883, 599.

2 See Hough Papers: New York State Library (hereafter NYSL). An abridged typescript of Hough's translation was made in 1980 by the Remsen-Steuben Historical Society, Oneida County, Remsen, N.Y., and this typescript remains in various research collections.

3 Hough, *HLC* 1883, 599 and his preface.

4 The work of the Adirondack historian Edith Pilcher, *Castorland: French Refugees in the Western Adirondacks, 1793–1814* (Harrison, N.Y.: Harbor Hills Books, 1985).

5 Cf. Pilcher, *Castorland*, 15.

6 For this information, I am indebted to Edith Pilcher's unpublished article: "Subsequent History of Castorland." In the list of the New York Company's shareholders, one finds the spelling "Conginasse."

7 In his memoirs, Elkanah Watson recalls meeting Pharoux and Desjardins in Albany. He calls Pharoux "a very learned man," and identifies Desjardins as "a former Chamberlain of Louis XVI": Winslow W. Watson, ed., *Men and Times of the Revolution*, 388. The émigrée Madame de La Tour du Pin, who maintained a small farm with her husband near Albany and whose name appears in the *Castorland Journal*, mentions Desjardins in her memoirs. See Madame de La Tour du Pin, *Memoirs*, trans. Felice Harcourt, 257.

8 See the following by Roger G. Kennedy, *Orders from France*; "A New Discovery Enhances the Architectural Legacy of Pierre Pharoux"; "Preface," pp. 13–16 in *A Neat Plain Modern Stile: Philip Hooker and His Contemporaries 1796–1836*; Roger G. Kennedy, *Rediscovering America*, 369–70.

9 Hough states that Baptiste came to America with the Baron de Steuben. See *HJC*, 299, note.

10 Pilcher, "Franklin B. Hough: A Many-Faceted Genius"; Cobb, "Franklin B. Hough: Pioneer American Forester"; McMartin, *Great Forest of the Adirondacks*, 123.

11 See translator's notes, Pouchot, *Memoirs on the Late War in America between France and England*, trans. Cardy, ed. Dunnigan, 38.

12 Cf. Hough's preface to his translation of Pouchot, *Memoir Upon the Late War in North America Between the French and English, 1755–1760*. One should add that the French copy used by Hough for his translation is less than reliable, and its errors have been incorporated into his translation. For example, in the entry of 11 October 1793, the phrase "pont de vannes," meaning "bridge over the sluice-gates," is misread by the copyist as "pont devant," the "bridge in front." Hough wrote notes for this translation, some more complete than others: these remain useful.

13 Cf. Adolph B. Benson, [ed. and trans.], *Peter Kalm's Travels in North America* (New York, N.Y.: Wilson Erickson), vol. 1, xv–xvi; Herman Wellenreuther and Carola Wessel, eds., *The Moravian Mission Diaries of David Zeisberger 1772–1781*, 83–87;

Bridenbaugh, "Patrick M'Robert's *Tour Through Part of the North Provinces of America*," 135; Lord, *Navigators*, 7. On the translation of historical texts, see Willi Paul Adams, "The Historian as Translator: An Introduction," *Journal of American History* 85, no. 4 (March 1999): 1283–88, at 1284–85.

Introduction

1 For the name, see the map of Macomb's Purchase by Charles Brodhead, *Documentary History of the State of New York* (hereafter *DHSNY*), vol. 3, 649. The full history of the Macomb Purchase has yet to be written. The best study of the Macomb Purchase is *Law Practice of Alexander Hamilton*, vol. 4, ed. Goebel and Smith, and in Hough's histories of Lewis, Jefferson, and St. Lawrence and Franklin counties; see too the *Annual Report of the Forest Commission*.

2 On the lack of attention given to the Adirondack region in early American maps, see Gronim, "Geography and Persuasion: Maps in British Colonial New York." Cf. remarks on this region made by the Marquis de Chastellux: see Chastellux, *Travels in North America*, vol. 1, 204; 347, note 18.

3 *LPAH* 4, 134.

4 See Pilcher, *The Constables*; *LPAH* 4, 131, n. 8; the unpublished thesis by Tailby, "Chapters from the Business Career of William Constable." After his purchase of his nearly four million acres, Alexander Macomb suffered financial ruin from his involvement with the speculator William Duer. Both were forced to enter debtors' prison, Duer in March 1792 and Macomb the following month. To avoid losing his landholdings to Duer's creditors, Macomb transferred them to William Constable: see letter Alexander Macomb to Constable, 3 December 1791: Constable-Pierrepont Collection: NYPL; see also *LPAH*, vol. 4, 140, and 140, n. 32; Hough, *HLC* 1860, 23–24; Mann, *Republic of Debtors*.

5 Adams, *Gouverneur Morris*, 226; Miller, *Envoy to the Terror*.

6 See Furet and Ozouf, *Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, 324–36; Childs, *French Refugee Life in the United States*; Greer, *Incidence of Emigration during the French Revolution*; Furstenberg, "US and French Atlantic Connections: The Case of French Emigrés in Philadelphia, c. 1789–1803."

7 This part of Crèvecoeur's life remains little known. See Rice, *Le cultivateur américain*; Mitchell, *St. Jean de Crèvecoeur*; Philbrick, *St. John de Crèvecoeur*; Chevignard, *Michel Saint-Jean de Crèvecoeur*; Allen and Asselineau, *St. John de Crèvecoeur: The Life of an American Farmer*. This latter work must be read with its critique by Chevignard, "Saint-John de Crèvecoeur: A Case of Arrested Biographical Development."

8 Schaeper, *France and America in the Revolutionary Era*, 325.

9 See Pilcher, *The Constables*, 13–16, for contrasting portraits of William Constable and his younger brother James.

10 For Samuel Ward, see *LPAH* 4, 145, n. 46.

11 See Gouverneur Morris, *A Diary of the French Revolution*, vol. 2, 211, n. 26. Cf. Samuel Ward, letter to William Constable, 18 October 1794: "The commotions in Pennsylvania are likely to be soon settled and our government will probably gain new weight from this seemingly unlucky plan to overturn it——but there is a race of men on our frontiers who can [?] not soon [?] be but to be lovers of peace and to have habits of industry——Our stocks mend amidst this commotion and are higher then they have been for eighteen months past——": Constable-Pierrepont Collection:

NYPL. Overall, one can define this group as a financial interest, analogous to the political "interest" defined by Alan Taylor. See Taylor, *William Cooper's Town*, 231–35. On interpreting land speculation, see Taylor, "Founding Swindlers," *Writing Early American History*, 184–92.

12 Macomb entered debtor's prison on 17 April 1792 (*HLC* 1860, 23). As if to ease Constable's doubts, Macomb writes in a letter of 15 June 1792 that a friend of his had actually explored the entire Black River itself: "A man was with me yesterday who has been exploring the western & northern parts of the State in Company with three others": Constable-Pierrepont Collection: NYPL.

13 In a letter to William Constable of 30 November 1793, Macomb justified the low price he paid: "It is now a matter of wonder how we got this land so low . . . my offer of 8d . . . was founded on Mr. [Robert] Morris having obtained the Genesee lands for that price from the State of Massachusetts, and these [Genesee] lands being reckoned valuable & far preferable to the Northern part of the State, it was thought that giving the same for the latter was benefiting the State, and particularly as I offered to take the whole of that *cold* country off their hands at once.": Constable-Pierrepont Collection: NYPL. Already then, comparisons were being made between the lands of western New York and Macomb's lands, to the disadvantage of the latter. The Holland Land Company, for example, declined to speculate in this "cold country." See Evans, *Holland Land Company*, 22.

14 See letter, Alexander Macomb to William Constable, 10 October 1792: "Lands are much sought after & will of necessity increase fast in value—Casenove is turning his attention to the acquisition of that kind of property very seriously, and he has Mr. Licklen constantly exploring the back country in order to obtain a general knowledge of the good tracts." Constable-Pierrepont Collection: NYPL.

15 John Bartram, preface to his *Observations* in Whitfield J. Bell Jr., ed., *A Journey from Pennsylvania to Onondaga in 1743 by John Bartram, Lewis Evans, Conrad Weiser* (Barre, Mass.: Imprint Society, 1973), 23.

16 Edith Pilcher, written communication. The conjecture is a reasonable one. Other candidates are James Le Ray de Chaumont and Gouverneur Morris.

17 See Brigham, "Eastern Gateway of the United States," 524; Lord, "The Mohawk/Oneida Corridor: The Geography of Inland Navigation across New York," 275 and 276; Meinig, *Shaping of America*, 119–29.

18 See Taylor, *Divided Ground*, 117; Wright, *Britain and the American Frontier 1783–1815*, 74–75, 89–93; Bemis, *Jay's Treaty*, 1; Kaminski, *George Clinton, Yeoman Politician of the New Republic*, 62; Lehman, "The End of the Iroquois Mystique: The Oneida Land Cession Treaties of the 1780s"; Boyd, "Attempts to Form New States in New York and Pennsylvania, 1786–1796."

19 See Macomb's letter of 26 December 1792, to William Constable, on dealing with the St. Regis Indians: "I have no doubts they [the Legislature] will authorize him [Governor Clinton] to quiet their pretentions" [i.e., those of the St. Regis Indians]: Constable-Pierrepont Collection: NYPL.

20 In the Prospectus, this quotation is given a precise reference: "Note no. 18: *Géographie américaine*, p. 246." This quotation of Morse in the French Prospectus is in fact an accurate, slightly abridged translation from page 246 of the 1789 edition of Morse's *Geography*. See Morse, *American Geography*, repr., 246.

21 See Cadwallader Colden, *Observations on the Situation, Soil, Climate, Water Communications, Boundaries, etc. of the Province of New York*, published in 1738 when he was surveyor-general of the Province of New York; *DHSNY* 4, 109–15.

22 See Washington's letter to Virginia Governor Benjamin Harrison, 10 October 1784; Harrison, "'Sic et Non': Thomas Jefferson and Internal Improvement"; Larson, "Wisdom Enough to Improve Them: Government, Liberty, and Inland Waterways in the Rising American Empire"; Larson, "Bind the Republic Together"; Larson, "A Bridge, A Dam, A River."

23 See *LPAH* 4, 144–45.

24 See *LPAH* 4, 145. See Hough's suggestion, *HJC*, 46.

25 The "Scioto business" was the sale of Ohio land to French citizens: the sales were made without proper surveying or property titles. This affair grew out of land speculation in the Ohio region in 1786. The first French settlers arrived in America in 1790 and by 1792 the affair was well known in the United States and Paris. Joel Barlow, in Paris, was involved in this affair. On the history and origins of the Scioto affair, see Davis, *Essays in the Earlier History*, vol. 1, 131–253; Echeverria, *Mirage in the West*, 134–36; Belote, *The Scioto Speculation and the French Settlers at Gallipolis*. For warnings published in 1790 in Paris about the Scioto speculation, as well as some in favor, see Fay, *Bibliographie critique*, 26 and 77.

26 Letter Le Ray de Chaumont to William Constable, 16 November 1792: Constable-Pierrepont Collection: NYPL.

27 References to land speculation as gambling are frequent in Macomb's correspondence, cf. his letter to William Constable, 6 June 1792: "This damn'd Speculative concern appears more like gambling than anything else": Constable-Pierrepont Collection: NYPL.

28 See *LPAH* 4: 146–47.

29 See letter by Pierre Chassanis to William Constable, 13 December 1792: *J'ai reçu 250 épreuves de la carte que je trouve bien executée; j'aurois cependant désiré y voir Hudson & Lunenburg, Balls-Town et Coopers-town dont il est parlé dans le prospectus. Peut-être n'avez-vous pas pu indiquer précisement leur situation géographique* ["I have received 250 prints of the map, which I consider to be well executed; however, I would have wished to see on it Hudson and Lunenburg; Balls-Town and Coopers-town, which are mentioned in the Prospectus. You were, perhaps, unable to indicate their precise geographic location."]: Constable-Pierrepont Collection: NYPL.

30 Pilcher, *Castorland*, 21–23. Constable's copy of Sauthier's map, with the Black River traced out in ink, is in the collections of the New York Public Library: Constable-Pierrepont Collection: NYPL.

31 Constable to Ward, 2 July 1793: Constable-Pierrepont Collection: NYPL.

32 Constable to Ward, 23 July 1793: Constable-Pierrepont Collection: NYPL. Cf. Constable to Ward, 20 August 1793: "I hope you will do something about the surveys": Constable-Pierrepont Collection: NYPL.

33 Ward to Constable: Constable-Pierrepont Collection: NYPL.

34 Ward to Constable, 10 November 1793: Constable-Pierrepont Collection: NYPL.

35 Ward to Constable, 7 December 1793, letter: Constable-Pierrepont Collection: NYPL.

36 Alexander Macomb to William Constable, 30 November 1793: Constable-Pierrepont Collection: NYPL. For the price, see Constitution, 4.

37 Samuel Ward to William Constable, 30 August 1793: Constable-Pierrepont Collection: NYPL. The "tract no. 4" refers to Great Tract no. 4 of Macomb's Purchase. See Ward's earlier letter to Constable of 17 April 1794: "Whatever you may do about the land will be satisfactory for me—the surveys will soon begin. . . . I wrote

you that the bill to enable any foreigner to hold lands was rejected—some of our great landholders or speculators in lands hoped by checking the sale to foreigners they would get full possession of all the vacant lands at their own prices." Constable-Pierrepont Collection: NYPL.

38 Macomb's letter continues: "There are at present serious impediments, namely the British and the Indians, and I presume these obstructions cannot be removed until some steps are taken to effect the delivery of the posts, for the Garison at Oswego, have refused to let a Mr E [?] Van Alan pass who went on purpose this Summer to survey for Ward, etc. The french men entered by Steuben township, so that they were distant from both British & Indians. The reason why the latter forbid the survey going on, is an account of their claims not being satisfied, and Lord Dorchester['s] Speech did not tend to change their sentiments. It is to be hoped Mr. Jay's mission will put all things, in difference between the two countries, right, and you should speak to him on this subject—various advantages of a serious nature to the United States would flow from the delivery of the Posts, to wit peace with the Indians, by having it [in] our power to keep them in subjection, and extension of the settlements." Constable-Pierrepont Collection: NYPL.

39 See Aaron Sakolski, *The Great American Land Bubble*, for a reproduction of this map (facing 66), with the caption, "The Map of Macomb's Purchase which James Constable took to Europe." This map is also reproduced in finer detail in the Karpinski Collection, French series, vol. 1, map no. 95. The map from which these reproductions are made is in the possession of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

40 This portion of the map corresponds to the description of the western boundaries of Macomb's purchase as given in Macomb's application to the Commissioners of the Land Office of the State of New York: "Thence westerly on a direct line to the mouth of the Salmon river where it empties iteself into lake Ontario, thence northeasterly along the shore of the said lake, and the river St. Lawrence, to the place beginning . . .": *DHSNY* 3, 649–50. This portion of the western border of Macomb's Purchase and its adjacent area seem to have received attention last.

41 Sauthier's map itself shows no sign of the Black River: *DHSNY*, vol. 1, *Sauthier's Map of the Province of New York in 1779*, 526. Interestingly, Pierre Pouchot's map of this region does show flowing into Black River Bay a river that follows closely the north-northwesterly course of the Black River: see the reproduction of his map in *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York* (hereafter *DCHNY*), vol. 1, 694.

42 Le Ray to William Constable, Paris, 20 May 1792: Constable-Pierrepont Collection: NYPL.

43 See Account books, entries for 1797: Peter Smith Papers, Special Collections, Syracuse University Library. Tillier defended himself in his *Mémoire pour Rodolphe Tillier*, translated into English and published at Rome, New York, in 1800. See Pilcher, *Castorland*, 107–16.

44 *LPAH* 4: 256.

45 See *HLC* 1860, 57; 231, n. 11; *HLC* 1883, 559.

46 The English text of Tillier can be found in Pilcher, *Castorland*, 188–202; extracts from Tillier's account are in *HLC* 1860, 57–65; for Chassanis's response to Tillier, see extracts in *HLC* 1860, 65–67, and Pilcher, *Castorland*, 204–6.

47 Pilcher, *Castorland*, 115.

48 See, on the new boundaries, Pilcher, *Castorland*, 107–9. For Tillier's own statement, see Pilcher, *Castorland*, 190. For the boundary problem and its resolution,

see *LPAH* 4: 250–52. Tillier's efforts to obtain a valid land title, also with the help of Alexander Hamilton, were unsuccessful due to the contemporary political situation: see *LPAH* 4: 252–55.

49 *LPAH* 4: 256–59; 259, n. 62.

50 *LPAH* 4: 256–59. Alexander Hamilton was involved in attempts to resolve the conflicts between the various parties.

51 Pilcher, *Castorland*, 122–23; 128–29. Eventually, Tillier seems to have left New York State: *HLC* 1860, 68.

52 *HLC* 1860, 290; Pilcher, *Castorland*, 129.

53 *HJC*, 420–28; also 97–98. See Gottesman, *Arts and Crafts in New York*, 60, for an advertisement placed in 1799 by the surveyor Charles Brodhead for "An accurate map of Castorland."

54 *HLC* 1883, 603; see Pilcher, *Castorland*, 116, for possible sources of this letter.

55 Quoted in *LPAH* 4: 257, n. 53. From this letter, it appears that Constable based his remarks on reports he had received and did not actually visit Castorland.

56 James Constable, Journal [copy], p. 26, August 25 [1803]: Hough Papers, New York State Library. Also in 1803, during his trip down the Black River to Canada, Washington Irving met Baptiste and his wife, and spent a night at their inn on the Long Falls, leaving of his stay there an unflattering description. See Washington Irving, *New York Journal, 1803*, in *Journals and Notebooks*, vol. 1, 12, 16. Sometime later William Cooper also passed through: Pilcher, *Castorland*, 120–21. In Crèvecoeur's *Journey in the State of New York and in Upper Pennsylvania*, 1799, one finds what purports to be a description of Castorland, but given these eye-witness accounts, Crèvecoeur's description of a prosperous Castorland is certainly exaggerated: see Crèvecoeur, *Voyage*, vol. 3, 399–409; Bostelmann, *Journey*, 614–19.

57 *HLC* 1860, 68; *HLC* 1883, 603.

58 The mansion, located near the former village of LeRaysville, now belongs to the Fort Drum military base. Historians disagree whether the mansion is the original building. See Claire Bonney, *French Emigré Houses in Jefferson County*, 120–28; Schaeper, *France and America in the Revolutionary Era*, 346, n. 88; Pilcher, *Castorland*, 226, n. 48.

59 See *HJC*, 299, 51; in his account, Hough, not yet aware of the Castorland Journal, mistakenly attributes to Tillier actions that belonged to Pharoux and Desjardins.

60 Few details are known of Castorland's final years. Pilcher, *Castorland*, 128.

61 Hough: *HLC* 1883, 38, note, column 2; *HLC* 1883, 601; Schaeper, *France and America in the Revolutionary Era*, 336; Pilcher, *Castorland*, 132. For the career of James Le Ray de Chaumont, see Schaeper, *France and America in the Revolutionary Era*, 335–39; Clarke, *Emigrés in the Wilderness*, 109–22; *HJC*, 441–47. Among other transactions, de Chaumont sold lands in northern New York State to Joseph Bonaparte in 1815. His son Vincent Le Ray de Chaumont played an important role in managing his father's financial affairs.

62 See *HLC* 1883, 602–3. His letter concludes, remarkably, with a reminder that Castorland's remaining lands are still for sale, and may be purchased through his land office in Carthage, N.Y. (606). His letter also contains a reference to Desjardins (605): "I will mention only one more [person], who was not a settler, but an owner, to give a sample of the spirit which moved that class of men in Castorland. He owned half the peninsula opposite Sackett's Harbor. . . . He had formed such ideas of the rise of the

land in consequence, that he never would sell an inch. . . . Mr. Desjardins getting old, gave up, it seems, the idea of seeing the northern city rise, since squatters had taken up possession of it, as of a common farmland. He sold the tract, and died a few years ago in Versailles, the survivor of all the persons whom we have mentioned, as settlers in Castorland."

63 Archives, Oneida County Historical Society.

64 See Monaghan, *French Travellers in the United States*, item no. 549, p. 32; Fay, "L'Amérique au xviiie siècle vue par un Français."

65 Of the émigrés, Pharoux and Desjardins specifically mention St. Mémin, Volney, and Madame de La Tour du Pin. Talleyrand, unnamed in the Castorland Journal, mentions Castorland in his manual on land speculation: see Huth and Pugh, *Talleyrand in America as a Financial Promoter 1794–1796*, 127.

66 The Castorland Journal, like other early American journals, shows a strong connection between word and event. See Franklin, *Discoverers, Explorers, Settlers: The Diligent Writers of Early America*, vol. 6, 16; Cerasano, "Theatrical Movements."

67 See Taylor, "The 'Great Change' Begins: Settling the Forest of Central New York"; Taylor, *Divided Ground*, 383; Onuf, "Liberty, Development, and Union," 180; Watson, *Men and Times of the Revolution*, 357–61; Washington's *Circular to the States*, 8 June 1783, in *Writings of George Washington*, ed. Fitzpatrick.

Castorland Journal 1793

1 Pierre Chassanis, director of the Compagnie de New York: *HLC* 1860, 68.

2 For *livre*, see appendix F, "Units of Currency and Measures." The *assignats* were a paper currency created to restore economic stability: see Scott and Rothaus, *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, s.v. *assignats*.

3 The name Le Normand appears again in the Journal in 1796.

4 Desjardins the younger is Geoffrey Desjardins, younger brother of Simon.

5 James Donatien Le Ray de Chaumont (1760–1840), Paris agent of William Constable, son of Jacques-Donatien Le Ray de Chaumont (1725–1803): *HJC*, 441, 447.

6 Gouverneur Morris (1752–1816), American minister to France 1792–94, involved with William Constable and James Le Ray de Chaumont in land speculation in America. See Gouverneur Morris, *A Diary of the French Revolution 1789–1793*; Adams, *Gouverneur Morris*; Miller, *Envoy to the Terror*.

7 Pharoux's portfolios are mentioned several times in the Journal: on 30 September 1794, when Pharoux and Desjardins prepare to leave Castorland for the winter; and in August 1796, when Desjardins takes the inventory of Pharoux's effects. See Kennedy, "A New Discovery Enhances the Architectural Legacy of Pierre Pharoux."

8 Jean-Baptiste Baudry, agent for Le Ray de Chaumont. See Kennedy, *Orders from France*, 69.

9 James Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur (1735–1813), author of *Letters from an American Farmer* and investor in the New York Company. Crèvecoeur makes several references to Castorland in his *Journey into Northern Pennsylvania and the State of New York*, published in 1801: see trans. Bostelmann, 24 (Crèvecoeur's note 2 to chap. 3 of vol. 1) and, more extensively, 570 and 614–19. See too Castorland Journal, 6 December 1794, and note ad loc. M. de La Motte was vice-consul at Le Havre. See Gouverneur Morris, *A Diary of the French Revolution*, vol. 2, 397 (letter of appointment from Jefferson to Morris, 23 January 1792).

10 See note 40.

11 The English sailors have disguised themselves as French revolutionaries, who wore red caps as a symbol of liberty. See Scott and Rothuas, *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution*: s.v. *sans culotte*.

12 A building and a square in Paris, on the Right Bank, near the Louvre, the Palais Royal was at this period the center of Parisian life. See Rice, *Thomas Jefferson's Paris*; Adams, *Paris Years of Thomas Jefferson*; cf. Watson, *Men and Times of the Revolution*, 108.

13 The *Cape* is Cap François, Cap Haïtien in present-day Haïti.

14 Mercury was used for the treatment of venereal disease. See Diderot, *Encyclopédie*, s.v. *mercure*.

15 The word *mouchoirs* means literally "handkerchiefs" and is being used in the following sense: "*to cast the handkerchief* means to give one's preference to a woman; this expression is taken from Turkey, where the sultans, when they go to see their wives in the harem, cast a handkerchief to the woman to whom they are giving their preference" (*DAF* 1798).

16 *Aux aristocrates!* means "Get the aristocrats!"

17 *Daurades*: "A type of ocean fish, its scales golden in color" (*DAF* 1798); in English, the "bream."

18 *Aurorae boreales*; identified by Hough as a kind of Medusa.

19 *Lanscornet*. This word is absent from the dictionaries that I have consulted. The word is perhaps related to *lencornet*, a kind of squid or cuttlefish. Cf. Chateaubriand, *Ouevres*, 771; Charlevoix, *Journal d'un voyage*, vol. 1, 362–63; Denys, *Description & Natural History of the Coasts of North America (Acadia)*, 355.

20 *Brasse*: French measure: "Measure based on the span of two arms stretched out, ordinarily six feet" (*DAF* 1798).

21 The name Euger (with different spelling, it seems) appears in the Journal several times: he is always spoken of with favor: see entries for 28 September 1793; 4, 7 and 10 December 1794.

22 *Galets*: meaning "pebble" or "stone," the word here refers to a "game in which one slides a kind of disc along a long table" (*DAF* 1798).

23 The word *piastre* is the term that Desjardins uses for the American dollar; only occasionally does he use the word *dollar*. The translation maintains this distinction in terminology. Cf. McCusker, *Money and Exchange in Europe and America*, 7; W. G. Sumner, "The Spanish Dollar and the Colonial Shilling," 609.

24 William Seton, merchant, emigrated from Scotland in 1763; in 1782, he served as deputy to Crèvecoeur while Crèvecoeur was French consul in New York and, from 1784, as cashier of the Bank of New York; he resigned from this post in 1794 and died in 1798. It was to William Seton that Crèvecoeur addressed his *Letters from an American Farmer*. See Mitchell, *St. Jean de Crèvecoeur*, 89–90; 90, n. 13; Davis, *Essays in the Earlier History of American Corporations*, vol. 2, 94.

25 Gouverneur Morris wrote a letter of introduction for Desjardins to New York Governor George Clinton: see Hough ad loc. for letter. With Ledet, Desjardins will open an office on Water-Vliet Street in Albany to sell land: see advertisement placed in the French-language newspaper of New York City the *Gazette Française*, no. 51, 11 Juillet 1796: reference: microfilm: NYSL. The name Desdoity appears in *Laws of New York State* in a petition to allow aliens to hold land: see note 137.

26 James Constable (1769–1807), younger brother of William Constable (1752–1803). See Pilcher, *The Constables*, 13–16.

27 Thomas Boylston, a Massachusetts resident, purchased from William Constable lands below the Black River, in Great Tracts nos. 5 and 6; Boylston went bankrupt in 1793. In 1794, William Cockburn completed the survey of the Boylston Tract. Due to the error over the course of the Black River, the tract was found to have 817,155 acres instead of the original estimate of 600,000. See *LPAH* 4, 220–26; *Annual Report of the Forest Commission*, 98–99.

28 Alexander Macomb (1750–1831), born in Ireland, acquired his fortune in the fur trade in Detroit, speculator in land.

29 François, Marquis de Barbé-Marbois (1745–1837), French diplomat, secretary to La Luzerne; friend of Chancellor Livingston; subsequently involved in Louisiana Purchase.

30 Pierre de la Bigarre, refugee from Saint-Domingue (Haïti), friend of Chancellor Livingston. See Kennedy, *Orders from France*, 34, 77–78; Dangerfield, *Chancellor Robert R. Livingston of New York*.

31 George-Louis LeClerc, comte de Buffon (1707–88), naturalist, curator of the Jardin du Roi and author of the *Histoire Naturelle* (1749–1804, forty-four volumes; the last eight volumes completed by Etienne de Lacépède (1756–1825). The *écureuil suisse* (literally, *swiss squirrel*), or *ground squirrel* (*écureuil de terre*), is the chipmunk. Buffon describes it as a species of squirrel belonging to the colder or temperate climates of North America: see Buffon, *Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière* (Paris: De l'Imprimerie royale, 1749–1804), vol. 17, 42–48. The title of this specific chapter in Buffon is *Le Palmiste, Le Barbaresque et le Suisse* (p. 42); this title is translated by William Smellie as *The Palm Squirrel, the Barbary Squirrel, and the Ground Squirrel*. See *Natural History, General and Particular, by the Count de Buffon*, trans. William Smellie, A New Edition (London, 1812), vol. 5, 288–94.

32 Jacob Wright, died 1810; served in Revolutionary War (Hough ad loc).

33 Richard Lush, clerk of Albany County, 1790–1808 (Hough ad loc).

34 Simeon DeWitt (1756–1834), surveyor-general of the State of New York from 1784 to his death.

35 Philip Schuyler (1733–1804), general in the American Revolution; at the time of the arrival of Pharoux and Desjardins, he was the director of the Western Inland Navigation Company. See *DHNY*, vol. 3, 659–70.

Frederick Augustus, Baron de Zeng (1756–1838). Born in Dresden, Baron de Zeng came to America in 1780 or 1781 and was naturalized in 1784; in 1792, he was commissioned by Governor George Clinton as "Major Commandant" of the militia in Ulster County: from this appointment the title "Major" is derived. See Edward F. De Lancey, Esq., "Biography of Baron de Zeng," in *The New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, vol. 2, no. 2 (April 1871): 48–53.

36 James Duane (1733–97), lawyer, politician, landowner in the Mohawk Valley. Township of Duanesburg created in 1765. Mayor of New York City, 1784–89; appointed by Washington to be the first federal judge in New York. See Edward P. Alexander, *A Revolutionary Conservative, James Duane of New York*.

37 Henry Glen (1739–1814), businessman and land trader, served in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1793–1801: see *Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, vol. 26, p. 98, n. 13.

38 John Porteous (1733–99). Born in Scotland, came to America around 1761 where he resided in Detroit, trading in furs. He later formed a partnership with James Phyn and Alexander Ellice of Schenectady; during the Revolution, he resided in

Montreal and then New York City and returned to Scotland and then in Nova Scotia. He accepted an offer by Alexander Ellice to become his agent in Little Falls and moved there 1789. *Mr. Murdawk*: James Murdock, who managed a store for Porteous in Schenectady.

See Richard Buckley, *Early Entrepreneurs of Little Falls, N.Y.*; Fleming, "Phyn, Ellice and Company of Schenectady"; Henry R. Howland, "A British Privateer in the American Revolution," *American Historical Review* 7 (January 1902): 286–303; Canedy, "An Entrepreneurial History of the New York Frontier, 1739–1776."

39 **Since 1789 things therefore have indeed changed* [note in original: in ms., the final number in the date is somewhat unclear and difficult to read].

40 Marc Isambard Brunel (1769–1849), inventor and engineer. Also a French émigré, he lived in the United States for six years before moving to England, where he became renowned for his engineering accomplishments, such as building the first tunnel under the Thames, for which he was knighted and elected to the Royal Society. His son, Isambard Kingdom Brunel (1806–59), was also an important engineer. The *Memoir of the Life of Sir Marc Isambard Brunel* by Richard Beamish(London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1862), 20–21, preserves an anecdote about his skill in calligraphy: having forgotten his passport, he created on the spot a copy that passed the scrutiny of the French revolutionary frigate (see Castorland Journal, 8 July 1793). Brunel traveled much with Pharoux and Desjardins in 1793, and they mention his talent for drawing (see Castorland Journal, 5 October 1793). Brunel's name is found on the list of lands alloted for Castorland: see Castorland documents, Archives, Paul Smith's College; Kennedy, *Orders from France*.

41 *7ber* is shorthand for September: the number 7 is substituted for the Latin root *septem*; likewise October is occasionally written *8ber*, November *IXber*, and December *Xber* for the same reason (the calendar year of Ancient Rome had ten months and Mars was the first month of the year, making September the seventh month, and so forth).

42 *Waggon* written in English: "The old orthography, *waggon*, seems to be falling into disuse" (Webster 1828).

43 *Loghouse* written in English.

44 For an account of the Mohawk batteaux, see Hager, *Mohawk River Boats and Navigation before 1820*; *History of Albany and Schenectady Counties* (Howell and Munsell, *History of the County of Schenectady*, 46–48). Most of the batteaux used on the Mohawk were built in Schenectady (Howell and Munsell, *History of the County of Schenectady*, 47).

45 The words *bottom lands* are in English in the manuscript.

46 Identified by Hough as *Adiantum pedatum*; today called maidenhair fern. See Hough ad loc.; Mitchell, *A Checklist of New York State Plants*, 10.

47 A variety of apple, the *reinette* or "rennet" is found in Webster 1828.

48 The words *Dutch* and *English* are written in English and spelled *Duch* and *Inglish*.

49 *Swart* is the family name of early Dutch settlers in the region. See *History of Albany and Schenectady Counties* (Howell and Munsell, *A History of the County of Schenectady*, 7–19).

50 The word *creek* is written in English: the authors often use the English word; occasionally, the French *crique*. A *crique* is a "small bay, or recessed inlet . . . where small vessels can find shelter" (*DAF* 1798).

51 A limestone formation, known as the "Painted Rocks," from the painted figures and images that Native Americans were said to paint on them annually. See Lord, *Navigators*, 12–13.

52 Guy Johnson (1740–88), born in Ireland; nephew and son-in-law of Sir William Johnson; became superintendent of Indian Affairs on the death of Sir William Johnson. The reference is certainly to his stone house in today's Guy Park, Amsterdam, New York.

53 Daniel Claus, Colonel (died in Wales, 1787), son-in-law of Sir William Johnson.

54 Sir William Johnson (1715–74), born in Ireland, superintendent of Indian Affairs. Confusion over family names has led to an error: it was John Johnson (1742–1830), Sir William's son, who went to Canada. The writer of the Journal is likely referring to Fort Johnson.

55 *Rouge-gorge*: red-breast.

56 The word *squire* written in English.

57 Spreaker's (or Spraker's) Ferry, where a rope ferry was located. See Lord, *Navigators*, 17–19.

58 The terms *cat's gold* and *cat's silver* are terms for mica: see Diderot, *Encyclopédie*, s.v. *mica*.

59 *Fascines*: "A bundle of branches, used to fill in ditches, improve bad roads, make batteries for cannon, and similar works" (*DAF* 1798).

60 See appendix F, "Units of Currency and Measures."

61 The Western Inland Navigation Company was incorporated in 1792, with Philip Schuyler as president. See Shaw, *Canals for a Nation*. Cf. Joel Munsell, *Notes from the Newspapers: August 11, [1792]*: "The western company met subsequently and chose Philip Schuyler president, and Barent Bleecker treasurer. They determined to improve the Mohawk as far as practicable during the present season, and to examine the ground in the vicinity of Little Falls, and those between the Mohawk and Wood Creek. The companies [i.e., the Western and the Northern Inland Lock Navigation Company] were incorporated in December following, with one dissenting vote in the senate, and nine in the house of assembly. In the meantime, the committee of the company prosecuted their work vigorously to be ready for operations early in the coming year." Munsell, *Annals of Albany*, vol. 3, 154.

62 The word *courthouse* is written in English.

63 *Lantern*: "In architecture, a little dome raised over the roof of a building to give light, and to serve as a crowning to the fabric" (Webster 1828).

64 Old Fort Schuyler, present-day Utica. Named in honor of Colonel Peter Schuyler, Philip Schuyler's uncle. Called "old" Fort Schuyler to distinguish it from Fort Stanwix, which for a time was called Fort Schuyler, for General Philip Schuyler. See Durant, *History of Oneida County*, 257.

65 Hugh White (1733?–1812), settler from Connecticut, arrived in 1784: see Durant, *History of Oneida* County, 611–13.

66 Fort Stanwix, built by the English in 1758, under the supervision of Brigadier General John Stanwix; called for a time Fort Schuyler, for General Philip Schuyler. See *Fort Stanwix* (Washington, D.C.: Office of Park Historic Preservation, National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1976).

67 The phrase "sudden panic" translates the original phrase "terreur panique." Cf. DAF 1798 on the adjective "panic": "It is used almost exclusively in this sole phrase, *Panic terror*, which signifies a sudden, groundless fear."

68 Peter Gansevoort (1749–1812), officer in the Continental Army, defended Fort Stanwix successfully against St. Leger, June–September 1777.

69 The word *causeways* is written in English.

70 Seth Ranney, tavern keeper: see Lord, *Navigators*, 44–46; cf. Hough, *Proceedings of the Indian Commissioners*, 181, n. 1.

71 The Roosevelt Patent, for John T. and Nicholas T. Roosevelt, merchants of New York City; in 1791, they purchased five hundred thousand acres of land from New York State; in 1792, the New York City merchant George Scriba purchased a large part of the original patent. See Jones, *Annals and Recollections*, 690; Hough ad loc; Wager, *Our Country*, 119–20.

72 George Scriba, merchant of New York City; proprietor of the Roosevelt Patent; born in Germany; died Constantia, New York, 1836.

73 The royal blockhouse was built in 1758 by the English. See Roberts, *New York's Forts in the Revolution*, 374.

74 The plight of Desvatines drew the attention of European writers. Alexis de Tocqueville knew his story and sought out this site during his travels up the Mohawk. See Alexis de Tocqueville, letter to his sister-in-law Emilie, dated 25 July 1831, from Batavia, New York, in Alexis de Tocqueville, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 14: *Correspondance familiale* (Paris: Gallimard, 1998), 118–22; see 119, n. 1; also his *Voyage to Oneida Lake*, in Alexis de Tocqueville, *Journey to America*, ed. J. P. Meyer, trans. George Lawrence (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960). See too Lange, "Visitors to Lake Oneida."

75 This location is now Constantia, New York.

76 Francis Adrian Van Der Kemp (1752–1829), born in the United Provinces of the Netherlands, came to America in 1788, settling first in New York State at Esopus, then moving to Oneida Lake in 1793, and then to Oldenbarnevld, now Barneveld, New York. See Jones, *Annals and Recollections*, 475–85; Helen Lincklaen Fairchild, ed., *Francis Adrian Van Der Kemp 1752–1829: An Autobiography*; Jackson, *Scholar in the Wilderness: Francis Adrian Van der Kemp*.

77 The word *pumpkin* is written in English.

78 *Meulière*: "Stone used to make mill-wheels; . . . a type of quarried stone, containing many holes and extremely hard" (*DAF* 1798).

79 Desjardins is likely referring to the *Tableau Encyclopédique et Méthodique des Trois Règnes de la Nature*, by the Abbé Bonnaterre (Paris: Chez Panckoucke, 1788), 150–51. The Castorland Journal repeats this reference twice: 19 July 1794; 12 October 1795.

80 Identified by Hough as Ryal Bingham. See Hough ad loc.

81 The commander of the fort at Oswego (Fort Ontario, for the English) was Captain C. T. A. Schoedde. See *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*.

82 Friedrich Wilhelm Ludolf Gerhard Augustin von Steuben (1730–94), known in America under the name of Frederick William Augustus de Steuben; drillmaster of George Washington's army and author of *Regulations for the Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States*. He resided in New York City; in 1786, he was granted sixteen thousand acres of land north of Utica by the State of New York. See Kapp, *Life of Von Steuben*; Palmer, *General Von Steuben*; and Lockhart, *Drillmaster of Valley Forge*. On the use of *de*, see Lockhart, *Drillmaster*, 29, unnumbered footnote. The distance to Steuben's home as given in the Journal is underestimated. Assuming Pharoux, Desjardins and Brunel to be in the vicinity of Little Sandy Creek, the distance, measured in a straight line, to the home of Baron de Steuben is approximately fifty miles.

83 The rivers flowing from this region westward into Lake Ontario have been variously named. The name Hungry Bay derives from the French La Famine, a river that is a constant feature of early French and English maps. This river is identified today as the Salmon River, although maps made at the time of the New York Company's purchase identify the bay of the Black River as Hungry Bay. See Hough, *HJC*, 23, but cf. 17, unnumbered footnote; Hough, *HStLFC*, 41, unnumbered footnote; cf. *DHNY*, vol. 1, 210.

84 *Isles aux galots*: Galloo Islands.

85 Emphasis added. See William Martin Beauchamp's identification of Native American place-names for each county of New York State: "[Jefferson County]: Ni-a-ou-re bay was so called in 1756, but this appears in several forms. It is now called Chaumont after Le Ray de Chaumont, who was a French gentleman owning large tracts of land. On the map of the New Hampshire grants it is Niawerne, while Sauthier makes it Niaouenre or Nivernois bay. The last name is supposed to refer to the Duc de Nivernois, but the earlier French usage makes it an Iroquois name": *Aboriginal Place Names of New York*, 96. Interestingly, one finds on a map made by Guillaume De L'Isle the designation *Aniouenre portage* in northwestern New York, between the Adirondacks and Lake Ontario: see De L'Isle, *Carte de la Louisiane*. It seems possible that the name Niaouré may be derived from the name of this portage.

86 "In *architecture*, a round cavity or depression, in form of a cup or cap" (Webster 1828).

87 The word *prospect* is written in English.

88 Spelled ordinarily *gelinotte*: "A species of small wild hen which closely resembles a partridge" (*DAF* 1798).

89 *Fait de bons bouchons*, "makes good *bouchons*," that is, either fishing floats or corks/stoppers.

90 Incomplete sentence in original.

91 The Constitution of the New York Company calls for the laying out and construction of a city: see Constitution, Heading 8, Article 4.

92 In reality, the estimate is low.

93 *Grande et longue chute*.

94 *Grande chute*.

95 Hough states that Pharoux reached the present-day village of Black River, New York. See *HLC* 1883, 600.

96 The precise meaning of "electric" as used in the Journal is uncertain. The adjective "electric" occurs twice, here and in the Journal entry of 29 June 1794, where it is used to describe a similar phenomenon. The adjective "électrique" is a relatively recent word in French. The word "électricité" [electricity] first appears in 1722, the adjective "électrique" in 1660. See Oscar Bloch and Walter von Wartburg, *Dictionnaire Etymologique de la langue française*, 8th edition (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1989), s.v. *électrique*.

97 *Bourgeois*.

98 Samuel Johannes Holland (1728–1801), surveyor-general of Canada, born in the Netherlands. See *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*; Johnson, *History of Oswego County*, 50.

99 *Les obstacles surmontables*.

100 This is, forty thousand *livres*: see appendix F: Units of Currency and Measures.

101 John Post (1748?–1830), from Schenectady, arrived in Utica in 1790; his main business was in transportation between Utica and Schenectady. Jones calls him

"the first merchant in what is now Utica": see Jones, *Annals and Recollections*, 495; Durant, *History of Oneida County*, 260–61; Ellis, *Upper Mohawk Country*, 21.

102 This 1793 meeting between Desvatines, Desjardins, and Pharoux was passed on to La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt in 1795: "We learned from M. de Vatine that M. Desjardins, and not the Abbé Desjardins, as we had been told in Niagara, had bought from M. Macomb in Paris, about 300,000 acres of land along the Black River in Hungry Bay, in an association with two other French people, one of whom was M. Faroux* [*sic*], an architect; that they are presently occupied with the surveying of their tract, on which, as others are doing, they are planning large settlements; that M. Desjardins, who seems to be a wealthy person, is married and is building a house in Albany. All this was told us by M. de Vatine, whom we left after we had promised to keep a fond memory of each other." La Rochefould-Liancourt adds the following note: "*M. Faroux [*sic*] has since drowned, while crossing the Black River." In the original text, the information on Pharoux's drowning is added as a footnote to La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt's narrative; in other words, this information appears to be subsequent to this meeting with De Vatine: see *Voyage dans les Etats-Unis d'Amérique, fait en 1795, 1796 et 1797*, vol. 2, 260–61. Since La Rochefould-Liancourt refers to being informed at "Niagara," he must mean that he learned his information from John Graves Simcoe, lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada. This mention of two people named Desjardins merits some comment. The Abbé Desjardins was Philippe-Jean-Louis Desjardins (1753–1833), a French émigré priest. For his career, see *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*; Hutt, "Abbé P. J. L. Desjardins"; Lefebvre, *L'abbé Philippe Desjardins*. Simon Desjardins wished to establish commercial relations with Kingston and, to this end, apparently corresponded directly with Simcoe. It appears that this correspondence from Simon Desjardins to Simcoe led to his being confused with the Abbé Desjardins. See Cruikshank, *Correspondence of Lieut. Governor John Graves Simcoe*, vol. 2, 281: (Simcoe to Henry Dundas, Navy Hall, Upper Canada, 20 June 1794; 382 (Simcoe to Lord Dorchester, Navy Hall, 16 August 1794); vol. 3, 229 (Simcoe to the Committee of the Privy Council for Trade and Plantations, Kingston, 20 December 1794); Castorland Journal, 6 July, 9 September 1794; 5 September 1795.

103 *Qu'il y avait traité*.

104 Louis Cook, Colonel, or Atayataghronghta (c. 1740–1814). Mohawk-African, born in Saratoga. Sided with the Patriots against the British; served as a scout during the Revolution. He resided at St. Regis; then Plattsburgh; then Buffalo, New York. His farmhouse was located on Oneida Creek near its mouth. The Journal mentions him again, 3 August 1796, as leading opposition to surveys of the St. Regis area. See Hough, *Proceedings of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs*, vol. 1, 39 n. 1; Hough, *History of St. Lawrence County*, 182–98; Hough, *Notices of Peter Penet*; Lord, *The Navigators*, 107–8. For other sources, see Hauptman, *Conspiracy of Interests*, 235 n. 67; Hauptman, "The Oneida Nation: A Composite Portrait, 1784–1816," in *The Oneida Indian Journey*.

105 *Pagode*: "small figures, ordinarily made of porcelain, the head of which is often mobile" (*DAF* 1798).

106 Schenando (c. 1706–1816), Oneida chief. His tomb is located on the campus of Hamilton College, Clinton, New York. See Jones, *Annals and Recollections*, 865–68; this date of birth appears to have been accepted by later scholars. See for example L. Hauptman, *Conspiracy of Interests*, 42.

107 *Mr. Catlin*: identified by Hough as a missionary; he is mentioned in a letter from Peter Ryckman to Governor G. Clinton, Fort Schuyler, 23 August 1784. See Hough, *Proceedings*, 32–33.

108 The word *squashes* written in English.

109 Peter Penet, French businessman and adventurer, helped supply arms to the American insurgents; he purchased land and a store in Schenectady in 1783, developing close relations with the Oneida Indian nation and creating a conflict with Samuel Kirkland. From the Oneidas he received a grant of land ten miles square. This grant was confirmed by act of the New York Legislature: see *Laws of New York*, Twelfth Session, chap. 32. After 1789, Penet's career becomes uncertain. The Castorland Journal, 10 December 1794, refers to Penet's selling land in central New York to unsuspecting French refugees from San Domingo. See Hough, *Notices of Peter Penet and His Operations among the Oneida Indians*; Powell, *Penet's Square*; Schaeper, "Pierre Penet: French Adventurer in the American Revolution."

110 *Good day, Gentlemen*! *Ah ah*, said Desjardins, *you speak French well.—Because I am French*, he added.

111 Cf. the similar story told to Barbé-Marbois by Nicolas Jourdan, adopted by the Oneidas. See Snow, *In Mohawk Country*, 307–8; Chase, *Our Revolutionary Forefathers*, 191–92.

112 *Sa Majesté Onéïdienne*.

113 Gerrit Boon, born in Holland; agent for the investment group that became the Holland Land Company. His settlement north of the Mohawk is today's Boonville, New York. See Evans, *Holland Land Company*, 66; Best, *Boonville and Its Neighbors*.

114 *Sopane* [*sic*]: "sepawn, sepon: A species of food consisting of meal of maiz boiled in water. It is in New York and Pennsylvania what hasty-pudding is in New England" (Webster 1828).

115 *Batter*: an architectural term, meaning: "slope, or inclination from the vertical, as in . . . a retaining wall" (*Oxford Dictionary of Architecture*).

116 Frederick Fisher [Visscher], colonel. For an account of this incident, see Simms, *History of Schoharie County*, 351; Simms, *Frontiersmen of New York*, 92, 105–6; Hough ad loc.

117 **Action by means of which the Indians tear your hair and skin from the skull* [note in original].

118 Nicolas Olive, a shareholder in the New York Company.

119 Earlier that year, Schuyler had been criticized by De Witt Clinton, Governor Clinton's nephew, in the *New York Journal & Patriot*, 24 July 1793: "Without remarking on the impropriety of appointing to a station, which requires consummate skill and experience, and youthful activity, a superanimated valetudinarian, who cannot, from the nature of his life, have had any practical knowledge of the business, and who is considered, by some intelligent people, as little better than a mechanical empiric, I would ask you whether this is not an inexcusable waste of the property of the stock holders, and whether a mechanic, more capable than yourself, could not have been procured at less than half of the money?" [signed] Marcellus: Microfilm: NYSL; Gerlach, *Philip Schuyler and the Growth of New York*, 37.

120 William Inman (1762–1843), native of England and agent for Patrick Colquhoun, who had purchased land from William Constable in June 1792. This "triangle" was conveyed 2 February 1793, by William Constable to William Inman: see *HLC* 1883, 34; Durant, *History of Oneida County*, 266.

121 *Grande chute*.

122 John Thurman (1731–1809), native of New York City, merchant, landowner of large tracts of land near Lake George, New York, and one of the directors of the Northern Inland Navigation Company. See Hough ad loc; Kennedy, *Orders from France*, 54–55.

123 A space has been left blank in the manuscript.

124 The word *stage* written in English.

125 Brissot de Warville (1754–93), French journalist and revolutionary, was guillotined 31 October 1793; he had traveled to the United States in 1788. Author of *Nouveaux Voyages aux Etats-Unis*, published in Paris in 1791 and translated into English by Joel Barlow. In this work, Brissot frequently praises the American stagecoach, comparing them favorably to the French coaches. See Warville, *New Travels in the United States of America, 1788*, 152–53; Ellery, *Brissot de Warville*, 75–76.

126 *Fournée*. This word means an oven-load of bread. Desjardins is complaining of overcrowding; but he also seems to be using the word in a more recent acceptation: "Name given to the cartloads of people condemned by the Revolutionary Tribunal to undergo the punishment of the guillotine" (*DAF* 1798).

127 Tench Coxe (1755–1824), assistant secretary of the Treasury and assistant to Hamilton. His work *A View of the United States of America* was published in Philadelphia in 1794. See Harold Hutcheson, *Tench Coxe: A Study in American Economic Development*; Cooke, *Tench Coxe and the Early Republic*.

128 Robert Morris (1734–1806), born in England, merchant and speculator; at this time, a sponsor of the French colony of Asylum. On Asylum, see Spaeth, "America in the French Imagination." Morris was likely concerned about competition between Castorland and Asylum, as E. Pilcher remarks: see Pilcher, *Castorland*, 51.

129 Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*. The *Notes* were published in Paris in a French version in 1787. Desjardins is likely referring to the eighth chapter, on population growth. See Carrière, "The Manuscript of Jefferson's Unpublished Errata List for Abbé Morellet's Translation of the Notes on Virginia. Cf. Medlin, "Thomas Jefferson, Andre Morellet, and the French Version of Notes on the State of Virginia."

130 Incorporated in 1792, Trenton is named for its founder William Trent (Abate, *American Places Dictionary*, vol. 1: Northeast). Desjardins' conjecture is based on the homonymy between *Trenton* and the French *trentaine* (i.e., indicating that something amounts to about thirty units).

131 Incomplete sentence in the original.

132 Benjamin Wright (1770–1842), surveyor. Born in Connecticut; his family moved to Rome, New York, in 1789. He was subsequently hired by the engineer William Weston; and later, became chief engineer on the Erie Canal (*Dictionary of American Biography*).

133 In the original manuscript, one finds the following marginal note by an unknown hand: *They ought to have asked for this permission in their capacity as French nationals, by virtue of the treaty*. This anonymous note refers to the treaties concluded between France and the United States in 1778, the Treaty of Amity and Commerce, and the Treaty of Alliance, Eventual and Defensive. The petition for Pharoux and Desjardins was granted by act of the New York Legislature the following year, on 27 March 1794. This Act mentions "Simon Des Jardins" and "Pierre Pharoux," as well as the names Dedoity and de Haussey (cf. Castorland Journal, entry for 9–12 September 1793); also, their neighbor, William Inman. See *Laws of the State of*

New York passed at the sessions of the Legislature, Seventeenth Session, chap. 49: *An Act to enable certain persons therein named to purchase and hold real estate within this State*.

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1 *Grande chute*. By "great fall" is meant the waterfall at Cohoes, New York.

2 *Païs* [*sic*], for *pays*.

3 The Northern Inland Lock Navigation Company, to improve navigation between Lake Champlain and the Hudson River. See Shaw, *Canals for a Nation*. Cf. Joel Munsell, *Notes from the Newspapers, July 27 [1792]*: "The directors of the Northern Inland Lock Navigation company held a meeting. Philip Schuyler, president. Surveys of the Hudson river were directed to be made, and the country between the river and head waters of streams leading to Lake Champlain were ordered to be examined. A gentleman of the name of Nesbit arrived at this time from Scotland, with high credentials, 'as a master of the science of canalling,' and assisted the committee at their first visit to examine the river above Troy": *Annals of Albany*, vol. 3, 154.

4 La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt: *Voyage*, vol. 3, 318–19, mentions a group of French *négociants* living in Albany, M. Quesnel and M. Le Couteulx, both associated with M. Olive of New York City. On the meaning of the term *négociants*, see appendix B, note 1.

5 Robert R. Livingston (1746–1813), chancellor of New York, first president of the New York Society for the Promotion of Agriculture, Arts and Manufactures; ambassador to France 1801–03, when he played an important role in the Louisiana Purchase.

6 *Rupture*: cf. the Castorland Journal, 26 March 1797.

7 This is the first mention of Baptiste. Jean-Baptiste Bossuot (1754?–1847), loyal worker for Pharoux and Desjardins, perhaps a former servant, stayed in Castorland after the departure of Desjardins. He settled at the Long Falls, now Carthage, New York, where he maintained a ferry and an inn.

8 Peter Smith (1768?–1837), merchant and landowner, subsequently partner with John Jacob Astor (1763–1848) in the fur trade. He arrived in 1789, and was one of the first merchants in Utica. He was the father of the abolitionist Gerrit Smith (1797–1874). See Durant, *History of Oneida County*, 259–60; Ellis, *Upper Mohawk Country*, 21.

9 James S. Kip (1767?–1831), built a store and established a landing place, apparently competing with John Post. See Durant, *History of Oneida County*, 264.

10 Captain David Starr, early settler, leased land from Baron Steuben: see Durant, *History of Oneida County*, 528. His name appears at the head of a list of settlers who sent a petition dated 3 September 1793 to the General Assembly of the State of Connecticut to request a missionary "to preach the gospel to us, in this our infant settlement in the wilderness": see *A Narrative of the Missions*, 1794, appendix.

11 John W. Mulligan, secretary to Baron Steuben.

12 Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu (1689–1755), author of works of political philosophy, *De l'esprit des lois* (published in France in 1748), *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence* (1734); and of the satirical *Lettres Persanes* (1721).

13 Cf. William Cooper, *A Guide to the Wilderness*.

14 Théophile Casenove began purchasing land in New York State in 1792 as an agent for Dutch investors; from these purchases grew the Holland Land Company,

formally organized in 1796. Gerrit Boon and Colonel Adam G. Mappa were agents for the Holland Land Company. See Kelsey, *Cazenove Journal 1794*; Chazanof, *Joseph Ellicott and the Holland Land Company*; Brooks, *Frontier Settlement and Market Revolution*; Evans, *Holland Land Company*.

15 The Holland Land Company: see previous note.

16 John Lincklaen (1768–1822), born in Amsterdam, agent for the Holland Land Company. Naturalized as an American citizen on 18 January 1793. See John Lincklaen, *Travels*, 1–26.

17 The novel *Tom Jones* by Henry Fielding (1704–54) was published in 1749.

18 Cf. Joel Munsell, *Notes from the Newspapers, December [1792]*: "It was first proposed to establish a line of stages from this city [Albany] to Whitestown. 'Such an idea a few years ago,' says the editor of the Gazette, 'would have been ridiculed; but for the great intercourse with the west through this city, we have every reason to suppose it will answer a valuable purpose, both to the public and the proprietors; especially if the proprietors should succeed in contracting for the mail, of which there can be little doubt.['] About this time a post was established from Niagara to Genesee River, where it met the post from the office of the Gazette every fortnight. The Messrs. Webster received and forwarded letters gratuitously to every part of the country where there were no mails." Munsell, *Annals of Albany*, vol. 3, 154; cf. 151.

19 Jedediah Sanger (1751–1829), born in Massachusetts; founder of New Hartford, N.Y., arriving in 1788; erected sawmill in 1789 and gristmill in 1790; first judge of Oneida County. See Jones, *Annals and Recollections*, 272–82.

20 Matthew Adgate, proprietor of tracts of land in what is now northern Oneida County; Boonville is located in this tract. See Durant, *History of Oneida County*, 60; *History of Oneida County* (1977), 149, 123; *Annual Report of the Forest Commission*, 140–48.

21 William North (1755–1836), aide de camp to Baron Steuben during the Revolution; in October 1787, he married Mary Duane, daughter of James Duane, mayor of New York; he was Speaker of the New York State Assembly in 1795 and 1796 (*American National Biography*).

22 The importance of accurately determining true north was an acute one in the eighteenth century. See Warner, "True North—And Why It Mattered in Eighteenth-Century America"; Linklater, *Measuring America*. In 1781, Simeon De Witt, then "Geographer to the United States of America," advertised in New York City for "Any Mathematical Gentlemen who can furnish the subscriber with the correct variation of the needle, in any places in Connecticut, New-York, New Jersey and Pensylvania": see Gottesman, *Arts and Crafts in New York*, 53.

23 See letter Baron Steuben to Col. Benjamin Walker, Steuben, 18 June 1794 [spelling modernized]: *North est ici depuis hier; nous sommes obligés de partir demain pour la frontière[s] de l'ouest et notre tournée m'absentera au moins 15 jours de ma Chaumière* [North has been here since yesterday, and tomorrow we have to leave to inspect the western frontier, and our tour will keep me for at least 15 days away from my Cottage]: Archives, Burke Library, Hamilton College.

24 *Oxalis*: according to Hough, three species are found in this region (Hough ad loc).

25 *Dicentra*: according to Hough, two species are found in this region (Hough ad loc).

26 William Cockburn (?–1810), surveyor for William and James Constable, born in Scotland; immigrated to New York State around 1761, settled in Kingston, Ulster

County; his sons James (1775–1848) and William Jr. (?–1806) accompanied their father on surveying expeditions. Biographical Note: Cockburn Family Papers: Archives: NYSL.

27 Only those measurements made by Pharoux at the beginning and end of his survey of the Black River's course are included here.

28 Bela Butterfield, early settler in Lewis County, from Connecticut; built first sawmill in this area on the Sugar River, in today's Talcottville, New York. See Hough ad loc; *HLC* 1883, 262. Cf. *A Narrative of the Missions*, 1794, 12: "In the State of New York [the missionaries] have been north as far as Crown Point, and northwestward as far as fort Stanwix and baron Steuben's settlement."

29 The Journal mentions here for the first time the surveyor Charles C. Brodhead (1772–1852); born in New Paltz, Ulster County (see Durant, *History of Oneida County*, 264), he will become increasingly relied on and trusted by Pharoux and Desjardins. See letter from Pharoux to Brodhead, 24 February 1795 (quoted n. 101).

30 See *Extract of of a Letter from Messrs. Pharoux & Desjardins, commissioners of the New York Company, dated from Castor-land, 27 June 1794, to M. Olive of New-York*: Constable-Pierrepont Papers, NYPL.

31 *Galettes*: "a kind of flat cake." (*DAF* 1798).

32 This is the second occurrence of the adjective "electric." See note on Journal entry for 25 October 1793 supra. Here, the phrase "electric fog" seems to be followed by a gloss.

33 On page 268/277 of the manuscript is drawn the plan of this loghouse at the great falls.

34 *Calotte*: see note 84, 1793.

35 The manuscript of the Castorland Journal lacks this map.

36 *Papillon paon*.

37 *Beaucoup de cerisiers sauvages, de la vigne sauvage et de la vigne vierge*. "*vigne vierge*: A Plant whose leaves are similar to those of the vine. It bears no edible fruit, and is used to decorate walls" (*DAF* 1798).

38 **in the line N and S*. [note in original].

39 *Baumier du Canada*: Canada balsam; its identification as a tamarack is in error, per Hough ad loc.

40 *Baume blanc* [white balsam]; *baume du Canada* [Canada balsam].

41 *Pour ceintrer* [*sic*] *la calote*; that is, *Pour cintrer la calotte*: "To arch the calotte.": for *calotte*, see 1793, n. 83.

42 *Calote*.

43 *Indepency's Creek* [*sic*].

44 *Horse's grass* in English in the manuscript.

45 *Sauvage*. The French word *sauvage* is derived from the Latin *sylvaticus*, meaning "forest-dweller." On the history of the word *sauvage* and the difficulty of translating it into English, see Dickason, *Myth of the Savage*, 63; Jennings, *Invasion of America*, 73–75; Sayre, *Sauvages Américains*, xiv–xvi. For the name *Sauteurs*, see Charlevoix, *Journal d'un voyage*, vol. 1, p. 430, n. 73; Trigger, *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 15, 768–70.

46 *Grande chute*.

47 *Corde*. The "cord" was a French regional measure of length and area. As a measure of length, it varied from approximately eleven to fifteen meters; as a measure of area, it could contain 16 square Parisian *toises*. See Zupko, *French*

Measurements, 46–47; for *toise*, see Zupko: 175–76; and appendix F. Cf. entry for 8 July 1794.

48 For this measure, see note for entry of 7 July 1794.

49 *Plongeur*: literally, a *diving bird*. Cf. entry 15 July 1794.

50 *To protract*: surveying term: "To draw to a scale; to lay down the lines and angles of, with scale and protractor; to plot" (Webster 3rd International).

51 This is the first use of *Long Falls* as a place-name.

52 *Azérolier*: the tree that bears the *azerole*, "a type of small fruit with a bitter taste, of the color and size of the cherry, and that contains several small pits" (*DAF* 1798); "Azarole: A species of thorn; the three grained medlar, a species of crataegus" (Webster 1828).

53 Omitted except for last entry: ms: p. 289/295–292/301.

54 Dating from New York's late Colonial period, the *Totten and Crossfield* purchase was a key episode in the development of the Adirondacks. Acting on behalf of Edward and Ebenezer Jessup, Joseph Totten and Stephen Crossfield petitioned to purchase land in this region in 1771. The Indian deed was granted in 1772, for 800,000 acres; surveys subsequently revealed that the purchase contained 1,150,000 acres. Various factors, such as the intervention of the Revolutionary War, prevented the completion of the sale; after 1786, the land was sold to Patriots. See Donaldson, *History of the Adirondacks*, vol. 1; Jenkins, *Adirondack Atlas*; *Annual Report of the Forest Commission*, 114–23. Desjardins also refers to recent purchases made by the Constables and S. Ward to dispose of lands remaining in Macomb's Great Tracts nos. 5 and 6. *Watson and Greenleaf*: sold by Samuel Ward and James Constable to James Watson, a New York City merchant, and James Greenleaf, in November–December 1793; surveys were begun in summer 1794: see *LPAH* 4, 150–63 and notes. *Angerstein*: John Julius Angerstein, London merchant, purchased land from William Constable and Samuel Ward; agreement made in London, March 1793: see *LPAH* 4, 163–79. The northern boundary of the Totten and Crossfield purchase was used to determine the boundary between Macomb's Great Tracts nos. 4 and 5, and therefore the northern boundary of the New York Company's tract.

55 *Surveyé* [*sic*].

56 On this date, George Clinton, Governor of the State of New York, writes to Baron Steuben, Stephen Van Rensselaer, and William North to thank them for their report on the fortification of the northern frontiers (letter from Clinton to Baron de Steuben, Stephen Van Rensselaer, William North, 17 July 1794: James Duane Papers, New-York Historical Society). Baron Steuben refers to this mission in his letter to Benjamin Walker (see p. 368, n. 23). On 31 March 1794, Washington had written Clinton: "Among these enquiries, it appears important to me to know the present state of things in upper and lower Canada; . . . the composition of the Inhabitants (especially in upper Canada); how they stand affected to their Government; What part they would be disposed to act if a rupture between this Country and G. Britain should take place, &ca. The proximity of our settlements from the Northwestern to the North Eastern parts of the State of New York with the Lake Ontario and the River St. Lawrence; the strength thereof; and of their neighbors on the other side of the line, regulars and Militia, especially about Niagara, and Oswego": *Writings of George Washington*, 33: 311.

57 See note 77, 1793.

58 *Longue chute*.

59 *Au-dessus des chutes inférieures*.

60 *Longue chute*.

61 *Volubilis*: convolvulus or bindweed.

62 The "long falls."

63 *Réduction*: a term in geometry: "said of the operation by which a figure is converted into a similar or smaller one; or of the operation by which a figure is divided into several parts" (*DAF* 1798).

64 A *Table of measurements* drawn up by Pharoux for taking the levels of falls and rapids is here omitted.

65 *Grandes chutes inférieures*. This description will become part of the nomenclature of the principal site in lower Castorland (now Watertown, New York).

66 **This lagoon empties into Cincinnati Creek and not into the Black River* [note in original].

67 Drawing: p. 330/339: *figure du coude du bassin* of river bend, point *a*, and so forth.

68 Desjardins' journey to New York City is continued on p. 53.

69 Ms: pp. 332/344–385/394: detail of Pierre Pharoux's survey of course of Black River. Pharoux's measurements are omitted; two of his "observations" are included. *Observations* include remarks on fossils and on signs of Native Americans living along the river.

70 *Portuguese Peninsula*: today, Point Peninsula, Town of Lyme, Jefferson County, New York. See note 3, 1795.

71 *Grandes chutes*: nb the plural of *chute*.

72 Cf. Simcoe to the Committee of the Privy Council for Trade and Plantations, Kingston, 20 December 1794: Cruikshank, *Correspondence of Lieut. Governor John Graves Simcoe*, vol. 3, 229.

73 *Longues chutes*: first capitalization of the name *Long falls*.

74 *Longues chutes*.

75 *Bloody flux*: dysentery.

76 *Catharre d'humeur*: a discharge of mucus.

77 *Grande chute*: here, the "great fall" refers to the falls in lower Castorland, in today's Watertown.

78 Crèvecoeur had three children, a daughter, America-Frances, born 1770; and two sons, Guillaume-Alexandre and Philippe-Louis, born 1772 and 1774, respectively. See Philbrick, *St. John de Crèvecoeur*, 19.

79 Arthur Noble emigrated to the United States from Ireland in 1783 and speculated in land; in 1790, he settled in the Nobleborough tract in Herkimer County, New York. See Hamilton, *Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, vol. 26, p. 98, notes 10 and 12; *Annual Report of the Forest Commission*, 126–27. See Castorland Journal, entry for *3, 4, and 5 June 1795*.

80 William Weston (1753–1833?), engineer, born in England. See Richard Shelton Kirby, "William Weston and His Contribution to Early American Engineering," *Transactions: Newcomen Society for the Study of the History of Engineering and Technlogy*, no. 16 (1935–36): 111–27.

81 That is, 23,000 *livres*: see appendix F.

82 For Samuel Ward, see *LPAH* 4, p. 145, n. 46.

83 See Constitution of the New York Company, appendix 2, on this point.

84 The following year, on 8 April 1795, the New York Legislature would grant to Nicolas Olive the right to own property: see *Laws of New York*, Eighteenth Session, chap. 67.

85 **merchant of New Orleans* [note in original].

86 "Lawn" is "a kind of linen, very fine and very sheer": *DAF* 1798.

87 This is a reference to the Great Tracts of Macomb's Purchase, numbered east to west, I to VI.

88 Cf. *LPAH* 4, 253.

89 Cf. letter by Alexander Macomb to William Constable, New York, 1 September 1794: "Desjardins, one of the french men to whom you sold on the south side of the Black River, was in town yesterday from surveying the Land; he is quite uneasy on account of the survey disagreeing very materially from the description by DeWitt on the Map. . . . Whenever an actual survey of the whole can be made, it should be done, and you must from that give in good conscience to all the purchasers their quantities as near the places where they expected them as possible. . . . There are at present serious impediments, namely the British and the Indians, and I presume these obstructions cannot be removed until some steps are taken to effect the delivery of the posts, for the Garison at Oswego, have refused to let a Mr [E?] Van Alan pass who went on purpose this Summer to survey for Ward, etc. The french men entered by Steuben township, so that they were distant from both British & Indians. The reason why the latter forbid the survey going on, is on account of their claims not being satisfied, and Lord Dorchester['s] Speech did not tend to change their sentiments. It is to be hoped Mr. Jay's mission will put all things, in difference between the two countries, right, and you should speak to him on this subject—various advantages of a serious nature to the United States would flow from the delivery of the Posts, to wit peace with the Indians, by having it [in] our power to keep them in subjection, and extension of the settlements." Constable-Pierrepont Collection: NYPL.

90 Henriette-Lucy Dillon, Marquise de La Tour du Pin (1770–1853), French émigrée living in Albany, New York; her husband was Frédéric-Séraphin, Marquis de La Tour du Pin de Gouvernet (1759–1837). She describes her escape from France and her life on her farm in Albany, New York, in her *Memoirs*. In the original manuscript, the phrase "and from his lieutenant general in Bordeaux, Tallien" is crossed out by an unknown hand: ~~et de son lieutenant général à Bordeaux, Tallien~~. For a sketch of the career of Jean-Lambert Tallien (1767–1820), see Scott and Rothaus, *Historical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, 932–35.

91 *Oppression*: "a sense of heaviness or weight in the breast" (Webster 1828).

92 Cf. letter from Col. Ward to William Constable, 9 September 1794: [two different letters on same sheet of paper]: "Simcoe proposes to attack our settlements on the Lake Ontario & we shall repel force by force." [on same sheet of paper: letter to same, 30 September 1794]: "It is reported that Waine has beat the Indians. We have a grand expedition against the Western countries of Pennsylvania to establish the excise from which we seem to expect no important consequences. Stocks are now [prices quoted] I suspect all likely to fall a little you could now sell your unpatented lands at three shillings or better this is a good thing": Constable-Pierrepont Collection, NYPL.

93 The Holland Patent, named for Henry Fox, Lord Holland, who in 1769 received a tract of twenty thousand acres from George III; this tract lies principally in the Town of Trenton. See Durant, *History of Oneida County*, 69; *History of Oneida County* (1977), 195.

94 Benjamin Walker (1753–1818), born in England, officer in Revolutionary War and member of Baron Steuben's staff. Resided in New York City and, after Steuben's death, in Utica, New York. See Jones, *Annals and Recollections*, 515; Bagg, *Pioneers or Utica*, 66–68; Kapp, *Life of Von Steuben*, 614–15.

95 **from the sound of its bell* [note in original ms.].

96 The words "the best of all possible worlds" is a line from Voltaire's satirical novel *Candide* (published in 1759), which satirizes the optimistic theodicy of the philosopher Leibniz.

97 Note use of plural: cf. 20 August 1796.

98 William Topping (1764–1840), from Connecticut, settled in this area in 1794. See *HLC* 1860, 125.

99 Identified by Hough as Andrew Edmonds. Edmonds was an agent for Gerrit Boon and the Holland Land Company. See Hough ad loc., Jones, *Annals and Recollections*, 116.

100 *Ipecacuanha*: "A root, large like the stem of an average-sized feather, that is imported here in dried form from several regions of America. There are three kinds, the black, the grey and the white. The black is the strongest and most valued; the white is the weakest. It is a purgative and an astringent. It is one of the best remedies found to date for dysentery" (*DAF* 1798).

101 The copy of the letter ends here.

102 The original is in the collections of the Oneida County Historical Society, Utica, New York.

103 Probably Dr. Francis Guitteau Jr., brother of Calvin Guitteau, surveyor. See Jones, *Annals and Recollections*, 515–16.

104 The word *affidavit* written in English.

105 The word *affidavit* written in English.

106 The confidence that Pharoux and Desjardins placed in Brodhead can be seen in the following letter by Pharoux: "Dear Sir: A few days ago I got home from hudson and found your letter directed to M. Desjardins & me the 16th December 1794. I do not forgot my words with you & for this purpose we have wrote to you the 27 December. Our boundaries or out lines are not yet determined for the french company's tract. Nevertheless we can contract a bargain with you to cross the lines already run and to run & survey the lines to form squares in the tract determined by campbell's line for so much a mile. Peace will permit to go by oswego to survey the lower part of the tract & our square. I will go next month near your town to Loonenburg. I will call upon you to speak about our business & contract with you. I have received offers for our survey but I ~~prefer~~ would prefer you. I am with esteem & friendship, your obedient servant, Pharoux": Pharoux to M. Charles C. Brodhead, New York, 24 February 1795; Brodhead Family Papers, Oneida County Historical Society.

107 A kind of linen; see note 86.

108 Nicolas Olive held ten shares of stock in the New York Company.

109 See *Letters from an American Farmer*, letter 11, *Visit to Mr. Bertram, the botanist*.

110 The *Newton pippin*: "Pippin: a kind of apple; a tart apple. This name is given to several kinds of apples, as to the Newtown pippin, an excellent winter apple, and the summer pippin, a large apple, but more perishable than the Newtown pippin" (Webster 1828).

111 *Abattement de terre*.

112 Moreau de St. Méry (1750–1819), French émigré living in Philadelphia at the time of the writing of the Castorland Journal. Born in Martinique, he authored important legal and historical works on Saint-Domingue. He became a member of the American Philosophical Society. His bookstore in Philadelphia was an important

meeting place for French émigrés. See Kent, "Chez Moreau de Saint-Méry, Philadelphia," 74–78; Rosengarten, "Moreau de Saint Méry and His French Friends in the American Philosophical Society"; Roberts and Roberts, *Moreau de St. Méry's American Journey [1793–1798]*.

113 Cf. entry of 2 November 1793.

114 The name of Penet's city means, literally, City of Good Fortune. In French, the word *heur* means "happiness" or "good fortune."

115 A settlement planned in Pennsylvania for French émigrés, begun in 1793; backers included Robert Morris. Financial difficulties developed, and most émigrés had left by 1800. See Clarke, *Emigrés in the Wilderness*; Spaeth, "America in the French Imagination."

116 Speranza, on the western bank of the Hudson River, was a city planned to compete with the city of Hudson. This locale is now Athens, New York. In the New York Company's Prospectus and in the Castorland Journal, this site is referred to as Lunenbourg. Lunenburg is a city in the Netherlands; but the name may be derived from the name of an early settler, Jan Van Loon (cf. spelling in Pharoux's letter to Brodhead, note 101). See Vedder, *History of Greene County*, 24–26; Kennedy, *Orders from France*, 70–76.

117 For Samuel Ward's transactions with Constable, see *LPAH* 4, Macomb's Purchase, 144–49.

118 See letter from Ward to William Constable, New York, 9 January 1795, in which he discusses the survey by Cockburn and "Faroux" (*sic*): Constable-Pierrepont Papers, NYPL.

Castorland Journal 1795

1 See letter Alexander Macomb to William Constable, New York, 9 January 1795: "The frenchmen's quantity comes out pretty exact by Cockburn's survey, but not in our tract, but with such trifling intersections of the Black River, as ought not in my esteem, to make any difficulties.": Constable-Pierrepont Collection: NYPL.

2 Stephen Hogeboom, of Claverack, New York; state senator 1805–08 (Hough ad loc.).

3 *Portuguese Neck*: today's Point Peninsula, Town of Lyme, Jefferson County (Hough ad loc.).

4 On this question, see Livermore, *Early American Land Companies*, 202–3; Dunbar, *Study of Monarchical Tendencies*, 65–75, 109–10; A. Taylor, *Divided Ground*, 117; Boyd, "Attempts to Form New States in New York and Pennsylvania 1786–1796."

5 The word *neck* written in English.

6 The word *sledge* written in English; elsewhere on this page, the French word *traineau* is used.

7 James Watson. See *HLC* 1883, 541–42.

8 M. Mouchet: likely Joseph Mouchet. See Miles, *Saint-Mémin*, 66.

9 Dominick Lynch (1754–1825), merchant and landowner. Born in Ireland, came to America in 1785 and lived in New York City. He purchased land near Fort Stanwix and named his settlement Lynchville: this settlement was subsequently renamed Rome. See Durant, History of Oneida County, 375–76.

10 Charles Balthazar Julien Févret de St. Mémin (1770–1852), French émigré, resident in New York City and Philadelphia, known for his engravings in profile of

prominent Americans, such as George Washington, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and Paul Revere. Of those persons mentioned in the Castorland Journal, Saint-Mémin made engravings of Alexander Macomb, George Clinton, Gerrit Boon, Théophile Cazenove, John Lincklaen, Robert R. Livingston, John Thurman, and also apparently the Madame Bancel who is mentioned at the beginning of the Journal as a passenger on the ship *Liberty*. See Miles, *Saint-Mémin*. On 27 March 1795, Pharoux wrote a letter to Simeon DeWitt on the preparation of gypsum; the letter was published by DeWitt in an English translation. See Pharoux, "Communication on the manner of Calcining Gypsum."

11 M. Tassart, an associate of N. Olive.

12 Lunenbourg: see note 110 (1794).

13 Moses Bagg (?–1805), settler from Massachusetts, arrived in Utica in 1794. He opened a blacksmith shop and kept a tavern that became the basis for his hotel, which his son enlarged and continued. See Durant, *History of Oneida County*, 265; Ellis, *Upper Mohawk Country*, 21.

14 *Ve* [i.e., "Vème" or "Fifth"]. The V may refer to Macomb's Great Tract no. 5: but Penet's square is in no. 4. The V may also refer to the "5th Tract of Peter Chassanis" as laid out by William Cockburn in 1794: see *A Map . . . Laid out for Peter Chassanis in Six Tracts*: Will: Cockburn & Son, 1794: Castorland documents, Archives, Paul Smith's College.

15 Hobby is also the name of several blacksmiths in Utica, who were brothers. See Bagg, *Pioneers of Utica*, 39.

16 *Hallebrand*: usually spelled *halbran*: a young wild duck.

17 Pluche, Noel-Antoine, Abbé (1688–1761), author of the *Le spectacle de la nature* (1732–50).

18 The *cousin* is a species of mosquito.

19 *Mouche vagabonde*.

20 *Grub*: "To dig; mostly followed by *up*. *To grub up* is to dig up by the roots with an instrument; to root out by digging or, throwing out the soil; as to *grub up* trees, rushes or sedge": Webster 1828.

21 Inman's Triangle, purchased by Joshua Stow and Lemuel Storrs of Middletown, Connecticut, in early 1795. See *HLC* 1860, 125.

22 The "end of the 9 miles" refers to the cardinal line established by Pharoux, according to Hough: see note, Remsen-Steuben typescript, p. 125. This note appears to have become misplaced. It is reproduced in the Remsen-Steuben typescript between the entries for 2 December and 3 December 1793: the typescript faithfully follows the order of the microfilmed manuscript. But this note refers to the survey of Castorland, and appears to refer to this entry in particular.

23 Calvin Guitteau, brother of Dr. Francis Guitteau Jr. See Jones, *Annals and Recollections*, 515–16.

24 I have translated the word *serrurier* as "ironworker:" " The term *serrurerie* [iron-working] has no exact counterpart in English. It embraces in a single trade fine work in iron: structural parts for architectural use, ornamental grillwork, and locksmithing. By 19th or 20th century standards, structural iron played a relatively minor part in the 18th century, whether in buildings or in ships. . . . The *maître-serrurier* [was] prepared to fill almost any architectural order": see Diderot, *A Diderot Pictorial Encyclopedia of Trades and Industry*, ed. Gillispie, vol. 1, note to plates 165, 166.

25 *7ber*: shorthand for writing September.

26 *Maréchal*. Two words are found in the manuscript, *maréchal* and *forgeron*, which I have translated respectively as *blacksmith* and *smith*. There may have been more than one blacksmith: see 22 August 1795.

27 * *of New York* [footnote in original]. Aaron Burr (1756–1836), lawyer, landowner; in 1791, he was elected by the New York Legislature to the U.S. Senate; selected by the Republicans in 1796 to run on the party's national ticket as vice-presidential candidate (*American National Biography*).

28 *Charrois*.

29 In the manuscript, only the first three letters of this name are visible.

30 In the original, *haute chute*. This is the first use of this term for what had been referred to as the "great fall." This nomenclature shows the growing need to distinguish between the two "great falls," namely, the "great fall" in lower Castorland, that is, today's Watertown, and the "great fall" at the site of the first base settlement, now the "high fall." See appendix G, "Place-Names in the Castorland Journal."

31 Pharoux's body was recovered some time later: "The body of this young man was afterwards found on a small island at the mouth of the river to which his name was given. Mr. J. Le Ray caused to be prepared a marble tablet to be inserted in the rocks there, with the following inscription: 'To the memory of Peter Pharoux, this Island is consecrated' ": *HJC*, 51, note. In his *Journey into Northern Pennsylvania and the State of New York*, Crèvecoeur includes Pharoux's drowning in his account of Castorland, altering somewhat the circumstances described in the Journal: see Crèvecoeur, *Journey*, 616, 618; *Voyage*, vol. 3, 401–2, 406.

32 *Forgeron*.

33 This important remark confirms that the Black River was known and traversed in earlier periods, before it was mapped.

34 *Tuyère*: an air-pipe leading from the bellows to the furnace. See Tunis, *Colonial Craftsmen*; Bealer, *Art of Blacksmithing*.

35 *Le manque d'ou* . . . The word missing is either *ouvrage* (work) or *ouvriers* (workers).

36 See note 77, 1793.

37 John Julius Angerstein: see *HLC*, 33–34.

38 Castorville was located four miles up the Beaver River, at present-day Beaver Falls. See Pilcher, *Castorland*; Hough *HLC*, 80; Long Falls is present-day Carthage, New York.

39 Nathan Shaler, died 1816 (Hough ad loc.).

40 Nathan Ford (1763–1829), born Morristown, New Jersey, agent for Samuel Ogden; settlement at Oswegatchee. See *HStLC*, 589–93; see too 367–401 where the road from Oswegatchee to Long Falls is discussed in the texts cited by Hough.

41 *Communications*.

42 Identified by Hough as William Bingham and Asa Lord, early settlers: Hough ad loc. For Asa Lord (1767–1818), see *HLC*, 126 and notes.

43 The word *clawboards* [*sic*] written in English.

44 *Summer-beam*: "A large timber or beam laid as a central floor timber, inserted into the girders, and receiving the ends of the joists and supporting them. This timber is seen in old buildings in America and in France" (Webster 1828).

45 *Revint d'Albany en bonne santé d'Albany et nous rapportant nos fonds d'Albany*.

46 *Graphomètre*: "A mathematical instrument, called also a *semicircle*, whose use is to observe any angle whose vertex is at the center of the instrument in any plane, and to find how many degrees it contains" (Webster 1828).

47 In the manuscript, the phrase "Baptiste came back in the evening" is repeated.

Castorland Journal 1796–1797

1 The 7,500 dollars is a conjecture. In the manuscript, the two initial numbers (7.5) are clearly visible in the manuscript, but the last numbers cannot easily be read.

2 The word *affidavit* is written in English.

3 *Nos pays* (plural).

4 Pierre-Charles L'Enfant (1754–1825), French architect and engineer in the Continental Army; subsequently designed plans for Washington, D.C. For L'Enfant's career and relations with George Washington, see Kite, *L'Enfant and Washington*.

5 See *LPAH* 4, 249–54.

6 In modern French, the word *société* means "corporation." Given the eighteenth-century context, I have preferred to translate *société* by the word *association*. See Livermore, *Early American Land Companies: Their Influence on Corporate Development*, 1–8, and his discussion of Castorland, 209–14.

7 See *LPAH*, vol. 4, for Hamilton's involvement with the Macomb Purchase.

8 For Aaron Burr's involvement in land speculation, see *LPAH* 4, 165–79.

9 *Traineau-stage*.

10 The text is unclear: two letters are written in superscript and appear to be the letters *md*.

11 At this point, the Journal includes entries from both Geoffrey Desjardins, who travels to Castorland via the Mohawk River, and from Simon Desjardins, on his journey from Albany to New York City.

12 *Grande chute*: The name "great fall" here indicates the original establishment (now Lyons Falls, New York), which will soon be called regularly "the High Fall." The name "great fall" will come to refer to the falls located in lower Castorland, that is, in present-day Watertown, New York.

13 *Chutes*.

14 Apparently the Caish hired in 1794.

15 *Hotbed*: "In *gardening*, a bed of earth and horsedung or tanner's bark, covered with glass to defend it from the cold air, intended for raising early plants, or for nourishing exotic plants of warm climates, which will not survive in cool or temperate air" (Webster 1828).

16 Silas Stow, land agent in Lowville, New York. Miller the son is Ezra Miller; his father, David Brainard Miller, from Connecticut, early settler in Leyden, Lewis County: Hough ad loc.; *HLC* 1883, 260.

17 *Chutes*.

18 The number cannot be read easily: judging from the few lines that can be seen, the number appears to be a "5."

19 The name corresponds to the Oneida name for the Black River, Kä-hu-ahá-go, as given by Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, 472. Cf. *HLC* 1883, 42, note; Beauchamp, *Aboriginal Place Names of New York*, 97: "Ni-ka-hi-on-ha-ko-wa has been translated *big river*, and applied to Black river. If so it is a very corrupt form of the word. It is more likely to have been corrupted from the name of the sturgeon, nikean-jiakowa, *big fish*, which abounded there; Beauchamp, *Aboriginal Place Names*, 101

[Lewis County]: "Ka-hu-ahá-go, *great river*, is Morgan's name for Black river, and has been mentioned. Strictly it is *the river*, as surpassing others." Cf. Pouchot, trans. Cardy, *Memoirs*, 302, n. 864. The name is spelled exactly as indicated in the manuscript. To make the pronunciation clearer for the reader, Geoffrey Desjardins uses marks which traditionally indicate short and long vowels in classical Latin.

20 *Sauvageon*.

21 André Le Nôtre (1613–1700), designed the gardens of Versailles under Louis XIV.

22 The condition of the manuscript renders the reading difficult: I have added the "2".

23 This portion of the manuscript is hidden by binding. I have supplied these figures based on information taken from elsewhere in the Journal: see Journal entries for 13 July 1794.

24 Unclear.

25 Word illegible.

26 *Jean Croker*.

27 Perhaps a Brotherton Indian. See Kirkland, *Journals*, 284, n. 34; Wonderley, "Brothertown, New York, 1785–1796," 470, n. 32; Love, *Samson Occom*, 364–65; Jones, *Annals and Recollections*, 248.

28 Julien Le Roy (1686–1759), renowned French clock- and watch-maker. See Smith, *Country Life International Dictionary of Clocks*, 236.

29 Effingham Embree, early American clock- and watch-maker located in New York City, active 1780s–1790s. See Drepperd, *American Clocks & Clockmakers*, 222. See Gottesman, *Arts and Crafts in New York*, 161–62, for an advertisement placed by Embree in 1791 in *The Daily Advertiser* for his gold, gilt, and steel watches.

30 Hough identifies as Benjamin Merrill (Hough ad loc.).

31 Luke Fisher, early settler in Boonville (Hough ad loc.).

32 Text unclear: perhaps Nellie's.

33 David Ostrom (1756–1821), former soldier in Revolutionary War, early settler of Oneida County, appointed county judge. See Bagg, *Pioneers of Utica*, 150; Durant, *History of Oneida County*, 167; Jones, *Annals and Recollections*, 513.

34 Here a blank space has been left in the manuscript.

35 Robert Yates, chief justice, 1790–98. Thomas R. Gold, of Whitestown. Hough ad loc. See Jones, *Annals and Recollections*, 822–24; Durant, *History of Oneida County*, 208–9.

36 No further mention is made of Croker in the Journal. The *Western Centinel* [*sic*] of October 26, 1796, ran on its front page a notice announcing his escape from prison and a reward for his recapture. Reference: American Antiquarian Society.

37 Cf. Elkanah Watson (1758–1842), *Men and Times of the Revolution*, speaking of this location: "the emporium of commerce between Albany and the vast western world," 313.

38 *Plat-band*: "a border of flowers or turf" (Webster's 3rd International Dictionary).

39 The words *Rough map* in English.

40 *Coulée*.

41 Johan van Oldenbarnevelt (1547–1619). Today, this location is Barneveld, New York.

42 The word *constable* in English.

43 *Agrément*.

44 *Provins*: city southeast of Paris, near the province of Champagne; today, in the départment of the Seine-et-Marne. Desjardins came from this region: see entry in Castorland Journal for 23 August 1796.

45 Pierre Auguste Adet (1763–1834), French minister to the United States; he had worked in the laboratory of the chemist Antoine Lavoisier (1743–94). See Poirier, *Lavoisier*; Rosengarten, "Early French Members of the American Philosophical Society."

46 Desjardins refers to Pharoux's portfolios in the plural: cf. Sept 30, 1794. See Kennedy, "A New Discovery."

47 The spelling is somewhat difficult to ascertain.

48 Peter T. Curtenius, founder in New York City. See Bridenbaugh, *Colonial Craftsman*, 84; Gottesman, *Arts and Crafts in New York*, 246–48, provides a lengthy advertisement for his wares.

49 Thomas Bluget de Valdenuit (1763–1846): see Miles, *Saint-Mémin*, 61–62.

50 *Jusqu'au détroit*: the French word for "strait" is *détroit* and the phrase may be translated "up to Detroit" (cf. Hough ad loc; Watson, *Men and Times of the Revolution*, 314).

51 Cf. letter A. Macomb to W. Constable, New York, 24 December 1794: "Montreal is the natural market of both [northern and western New York]": Constable-Pierrepont Collection: NYPL.

52 The words *Canada Road* are in English in the manuscript.

53 Henri Boutin's land in Long Falls, now Carthage, New York. See *HJC*, 299; Hough ad loc.

54 The letters are difficult to read: they appear to be IS.

55 The number given is difficult to read.

56 *Cotonniers*.

57 *Grande chute*.

58 *Des hautes aux longues chutes*. This nomenclature is significant and shows the growing need to distinguish between the three main groups of waterfalls located at the High Falls, the Long Falls, and the Great Falls, respectively Lyons Falls, Carthage, and Watertown.

59 The *Aquilegia* is a species of Columbine; but given the time of year, Hough suggests that the writer means *sarracenia purpurea*, or pitcher plant, which Hough calls "side-saddle flower" (Hough ad loc.).

60 * [note added to the manuscript: page 684/693 and page 685/694/685]: "It was of course infinitely more advantageous to a shareholder on the site, in order to make his choice, to wait until he should possess the perfect and entire knowledge of the Terrain, by the general statement of the survey as soon as it should be finished. But it was of major interest for the Company to have settlements as promptly as possible, and experience proves that to wait for the map's completion was to delay them too long. Why were our neighbors selling their lands, which were less good than ours, at a price more than double? Because they were able to attract inhabitants before us. The choices of Messrs Olive and Le Ray do not overlap, and if the choices which M. Desjardins calls "premature" cause embarrassment in completing the map, why did M. Desjardins make his own choice and that of his relatives for 3000 acres?"

61 The word *pound* written in English.

62 * [an inkstain in the manuscript renders several words illegible] "Oh! This time, it is necessary to take up a pen. It was agreed that M. Tillier would charge himself with the interests of the shareholders as well as of those of the Company, and nothing is less "contrary." Not everyone had the same good fortune as M. Desjardins, who was on the site. If M. Le Ray de Chaumont had wished to have his interests acted

on to the detriment of those of the Company, he could . . . [illegible] preferably have found someone else, and he has an advantage which others generally do not have, which is to have on the site friends which he could charge with his affairs; and while supposing to M. Tillier a propensity to favor him, it is then that he could do so with impunity, without fearing a double responsibility, which, in this circumstance, leaves him recourse only to the law. M. Tillier is then perfectly correct. M. Le Ray is also correct, since he has enough confidence in the integrity and the justice of M. Tillier so as not to fear that he might follow the example of [illegible] Holker, who was both the agent of M. de Chaumont and of the French government. Here, the private interest, that of a friend (to whom he owed his station) has been unjustly sacrificed to the public interest, which one has sought to win over for [illegible]. As for the choice of 8100 acres, M. Desjardins has himself given the response, and he has recognized supra that the designation was made in France, the choice was not even made by M. Le Ray, to whom three separate points have been assigned, and of which one, marked [illegible] of America, is very poorly located." The hand-written *Table des matières*, or Table of Contents (see preface, x), identifies Tillier as the author of this note.

63 This is the Journal's last reference to Baptiste.

64 Constantin, Comte de Volney (1757–1820). Author of numerous philosophical works. From October 1795 to June 1798 he traveled widely in the United States. His *Tableau du climat et du sol des Etats-Unis*, published in 1803, was translated into English the following year by Charles Brockden Brown. In this work, he mentions being in Albany: Volney, *Oeuvres* (Paris: Fayard, 1989), vol. 2, 234. In a letter to Thomas Jefferson, written from Kentucky, 24 August 1796, Volney sets out his plans to travel to Niagara Falls, Oswego, Albany, and Boston: see Chinard, *Volney et l'Amérique*, 49.

65 M. Le Couteulx. Cf. La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Voyage*, vol. 3, 318–19. The name Le Couteulx belonged to an important French banking firm, Le Couteulx and Cie. of Paris.

66 *Sledges de retour*.

67 Text damaged.

68 Text damaged.

69 Text damaged: my conjecture.

70 *Rupture*. As Hough states, this likely refers to the relations between the United States and France at this time. Cf. Castorland Journal, 23 April 1794.

71 The "three thousand acres" refers to land purchased by Desjardins on Point Peninsula. See Hough ad loc. and Pilcher, *Castorland*, 104–6.

Appendix A. Prospectus of the New York Company

1 The Prospectus is a printed text, to which various changes have been made by hand: these changes are indicated here. I have changed the footnotes of the original text to endnotes and numbered them sequentially: in the original, their numbering begins anew on each page. The "Plan of Association" refers to Chassanis's original plan of 1792 to sell 600,000 acres of land. See *LPAH* 4, 141–45. For an English text of this "Plan of Association," see Hough's translation in *HJC*, 46–49; this translation is reproduced in Pilcher, *Castorland*, 160–63.

2 Words crossed out in original.

3 *Platane Occidentale*. The *Platanus occidentalis* is the Eastern Sycamore.

4 For the *livre tournois*, see appendix F.

5 "When the term *louis* is used absolutely, it is understood to be a gold *louis* of 24 livres in 1795" (*DAF* 1798).

Appendix B. Constitution of the New York Company

1 "The merchant capitalism of the old regime was carried on within an economic and social community called *le négoce*. Wholesalers, commission and maritime merchants, bankers, and merchant manufacturers were called *négociants*." George V. Taylor, "Types of Capitalism in Eighteenth-Century France," *English Historical Review* 79, no. 312 (July 1964): 481.

2 This is a mistake for January, this transfer having taken place in fact January 10, 1792. See below, Heading the First, first item listed. Cf. *LPAH* 4; Hough, *HJC*, 42.

3 But see letter of Le Ray de Chaumont to William Constable, November 16, 1792, in which Le Ray de Chaumont says that Chassanis has had to release the Prospectus "this week" (see introduction).

4 In this text, the word "association" is used to translate the word "société" in the original, rather than the usual, and possible, "corporation." Cf. F. Bayard and P. Guignet, *L'écononomie française aux xvi–xvii–xviii siècles* (Paris, Editions Ophrys, 1991), 260; and the dictionary of Féraud (1787–88), s.v. "corporation": *Mot emprunté des Anglais* (A word borrowed from the English) (ARTFL).

5 Literally, a *coupon divis*, or "coupon for the possession of a divided portion," a certificate indicating individual ownership of land.

6 Literally, a *coupon indivis*, or "coupon for the possession of undivided lands," a certificate indicating a share in the lands held in common.

7 "The eighth part of an ounce" (*DAF* 1798). See also Zupko, *French Weights and Measures*, 77–78.

8 *Rentes*.

9 *Fermages*.

10 These signatures are not included with this document.

11 This handwritten note appears on the last page of the Constitution, and continues onto the first page of the Journal.

Appendix D. Synopsis of Travel

1 See appendix G, "Place-Names in the Castorland Journal."

Appendix G. Place-Names in the Castorland Journal

1 *The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton*, in *Colonial American Travel Narratives* (New York: Penguin, 1994), 223.

2 *Notes on the State of Virginia* (New York: Penguin, 1999), 15; cf. 18.

3 Washington, *Writings of George Washington*, vol. 28: 1 February 1785.

4 Cf. John Bartram, *Journal*, 64 (on Oswego River).

5 *Journal of Thomas Grant*, in Frederick Cook, ed., *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General Jon Sullivan Against the Six nations of Indians in 1779*, 136.

6 Thoreau, *The Maine Woods* (New York: Penguin Books, 1998), 379.

7 T. Dwight, *Travels*, vol. 2, 157.

8 T. Dwight, *Travels*, vol. 2: Letter VI on the Connecticut River, 221–22.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

DAF 1798	*Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 5th ed. published in 1798. http://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/node/17.
HJC	Franklin B. Hough, *History of Jefferson County*, 1854.
HLC 1860	Franklin B. Hough, *History of Lewis County*, 1860.
HLC 1883	Franklin B. Hough, *History of Lewis County*, 1883.
Hough ad loc.	Refers to the information provided by Hough in the notes that he wrote for the English translation of the Castorland Journal. This translation and these notes were left in manuscript. For ease of reference, this information is related to a particular date and entry in the Castorland Journal rather than to the page numbers of either Hough's manuscript or the Remsen-Steuben typescript (see section below, "Castorland Documents in Manuscript").
HStLFC	Franklin B. Hough, *History of St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties*, 1853.
LPAH	*The Law Practice of Alexander Hamilton* (ed. Goebel and Smith).
Webster 1828	*An American Dictionary of the English Language*, 1828.

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